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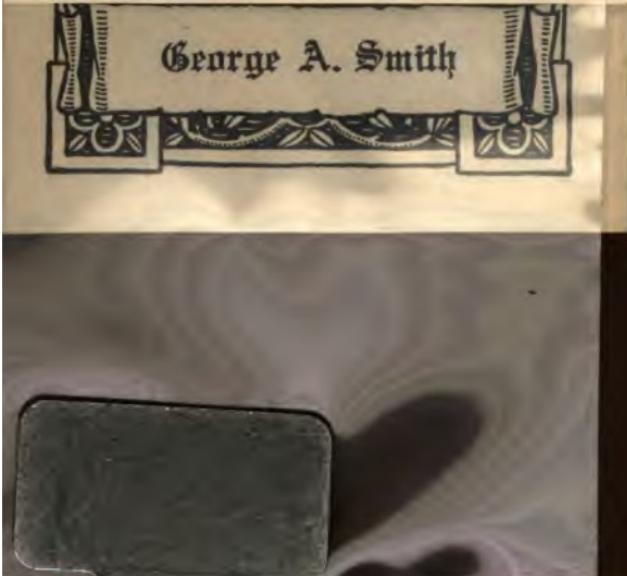
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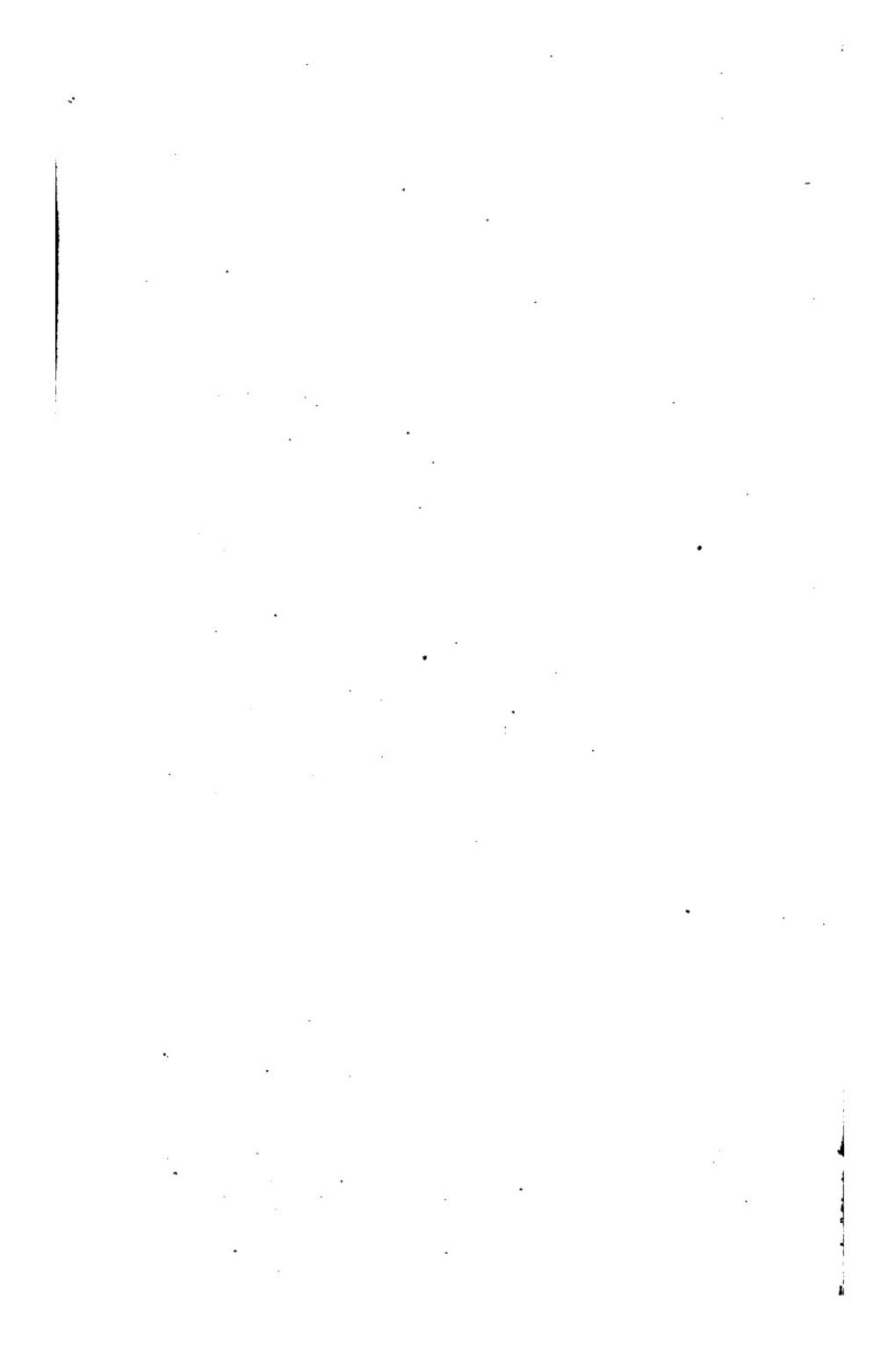
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# **ECCE FEMINA:**

**AN ATTEMPT TO SOLVE**

## **THE WOMAN QUESTION.**

**BEING**

**AN EXAMINATION OF ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF FEMALE  
SUFFRAGE BY JOHN STUART MILL AND OTHERS, AND  
A PRESENTATION OF ARGUMENTS AGAINST  
THE PROPOSED CHANGE IN THE  
CONSTITUTION OF SOCIETY.**

**By CARLOS WHITE.**



**HANOVER, N.H.:  
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WE of the "softer" sex, though not by any means really so soft as we are complimented and coaxed into appearing, have no call, and mostly no desire, to force ourselves into the province of men. We feel that we are not fitted for it. Female doctors (though all honor be to those heroic, self-sacrificing women who are capable of undertaking such a profession), female missionaries, travellers, and life-long devotees to science, art, or philanthropy, are, and always will be, rare and peculiar cases, not to be judged by ordinary rules. The average number of us are content to leave to men their own proper place; but none the less resolutely ought we to keep our own, one of the first "rights" of which is, the supreme rule of all domestic concerns. — *Miss Muloch.*

Equally blasphemous, and perhaps even more harmful, is the outcry about "the equality of the sexes," — the frantic attempt to force women, many of whom are either ignorant of, or unequal for, their own duties, into the position and duties of men. — *The same.*

The difference between man's vocation and woman's seems naturally to be this, — one is abroad, the other at home; one external, the other internal; one active, the other passive. He has to go and seek out his path; hers usually lies close under her feet. Yet each is as distinct, as honorable, as difficult; and, whatever custom may urge to the contrary, if the life is meant to be a worthy or a happy one, each must resolutely and unshrinkingly be trod. — *The same.*

As for the evil you complain of, impute it to that imperfect education which at once cultivates and enslaves the intellect, and loads the memory while it fetters the judgment. Women, however well read in history, never generalize in politics; never argue on any broad or general principle; never reason, from a consideration of past events, their causes and consequences. But they are always political through their affections, their prejudices, their personal *liaisons*, their hopes, their fears. . . . Hence it is that we make such blind partizans, such violent party-women, and such wretched politicians. I never heard a woman *talk* politics, as it is termed, that I could not discern at once the motive, the affection, the secret bias, which swayed her opinions and inspired her arguments. If it appeared to the Grecian sage so "difficult for a man not to love himself, nor the things that belong to him, but justice only," how much more for a woman! — *Mrs. Jameson.*

It is an unfortunate feature of some, who, with the best of motives, are laboring to relieve the burdens of their sex, that they assume that the fault rests with men, as if they were in antagonism with woman's interests and rights. But, in all Christian countries, men are trained to a tender care of wives, mothers, and sisters; and a chivalrous impulse to protect and provide for helpless womanhood is often stronger in men than in most women who have had no such training. . . . It is certain that all just and benevolent men feel the wrongs and disabilities of womanhood as much as most women do, and have been as much perplexed in seeking the most effective remedy. — *Catherine E. Beecher.*

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# ECCE FEMINA.

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## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTION.

HE world moves. No one can doubt it, who lives in the United States. But it is neither strange nor wonderful that a nation which came into existence in defiance of the customs and regulations which have ruled the rest of the world, should be teeming with new ideas of government, and agitated by theories that have never been thought of before. Yet England, though staid and sober, has been obliged to yield to the demands for innovation; and her hereditary aristocracy seem to fear lest the very foundations of society may be destroyed. France, the nursery of enthusiasm, burst the bonds which had held her for centuries, but lost a great part of the truth she contended for,

because she coupled it with error and falsehood. The French people rashly thought that liberty meant the destruction of all that had previously existed. They imagined that the laws of God were to be repealed, and supposed that every man might do what seemed desirable in his own eyes. But the French are again aroused. They will not quietly submit to absolute monarchy. The Prussian government has recognized the rights of the people. Even Austria has felt the influence of the age. Russia has accomplished wonders in the way of reform, although there is much left undone. China feels the influence of the great changes in the rest of the world. Italy, Spain, and, in fact, nearly all the nations of the globe, have undergone some remarkable political or intellectual change during the nineteenth century. The spread of Christianity, through the efforts of missionaries, and the consequent advancement of knowledge and civilization among the barbarous nations and tribes, are most important features of the times. Wars have been frequent ; and, in short, the changes throughout the known world, within the last hundred years, have been greater than those of any other century since the flood. Old institutions have been swept away, and no custom is likely to be spared,

unless it has a better plea for existence than that of age.

We Americans are anxious to keep in advance of the rest of mankind, and watch with jealous eye any European innovation. This may be a laudable ambition ; but there is need of caution, lest we destroy good and bad together, and have no more discrimination in adopting what is new. Formerly the fact that a law or custom had been long established was a presumption in its favor. At the present time, there are many well-meaning persons who seem to think such a fact an evidence that the law or custom should be abolished. When justice, truth, reason, and common sense are united in demanding the destruction of a long-established usage, every one should cry out, “Destroy !” but if they unite in sustaining the usage, the man who lays hands upon it must meet the retribution of a just God. The decrees of the Great Lawgiver have existed from eternity. When we overturn some stronghold of iniquity, and establish justice by law, we are only *restoring* what has been displaced in defiance of that Ruler who is the source of all law. We may introduce new customs ; but if they are not in accordance with his precepts, he will supplant them. The one

who is eager to adopt what is new is sometimes as unreasonable as the conservative who clings blindly to the past. Neither should be considered worthy of attention, unless he can support his cause by good and sufficient *reasons*.

Public opinion is like the pendulum : at one time it swings toward conservatism, then to the other extreme. There is danger at the present time, that noble, honest, and philanthropic men and women may be deceived. Many are thus deceived already. Our country is in just such a condition that it can easily be influenced to adopt new measures of real or imaginary reform, without sufficiently considering the reasons for so doing. The so-called Woman's Rights advocates have been engaged in presenting their views to the country since 1840 ; but they made but little progress, comparatively, until after the close of the war. At first they were received with scorn and ridicule ; but at the present time nearly all are willing to listen to their arguments with candor, even though they do not expect to become converts. It is certainly a subject worthy of consideration ; and we should not accept or reject the conclusions of those who lead this movement, without fully comprehending the *reasons why*. For years the antislavery reformers struggled manfully

for the abolition of slavery, without much apparent success. When the war broke out, a large majority of the people of the North were willing to let the slave remain where he was. But that institution, with its evils, was suddenly swept away. Since then a large number of men and women have turned their energies to the advancement of the cause of female suffrage. Some have been converted, because they did not wish to resist this as they did the antislavery movement. They are eager to be in the van of this army of reformers, and imagine they will be rewarded with success at no distant day. Others are opposed to it, but dare not resist for fear they will be laughed at, as those were, who, at the close of the war, still sympathized with the South. Some are supporters of the innovation, because they think it will be a success, although they hardly know *why* it should succeed. Those who have labored for years without much hope are now enthusiastic. There is but one serious drawback; the *majority* of the women themselves seem to be very indifferent to the movement. It was admitted by "The Independent," a few months ago, that this was one of the greatest obstacles which they had to contend with. If *all* the women had as keen a sense of the wrong

done them, in being deprived of the ballot, as have the leaders of this reform, doubtless the cause would succeed within two years.

But we will give the Innovators \* the credit of having advanced some very plausible reasons why women should have the ballot, — probably as good as *can* be produced. To Americans, many of their arguments are very convincing, especially to those who are eager to be foremost in the next great reform. We will admit that some of the objections raised against this movement have been very weak ; but this is not true of all that has been said. Very good and reasonable arguments have been produced by those who do not believe it best for either sex that the right of suffrage should be extended to women. However, it may be true that the Innovators have the best of the argument thus far. This may be accounted for by the following facts. In the first place, many of the laws and customs that have prevailed to the present time have been unjust to women, hence they could fairly be denounced ; and, on this account, able

\* In the remainder of this book, those who advocate female suffrage will be called the *Innovators*, on account of the convenience of using one word. It is not intended as a term of reproach, but simply to express the fact that they are a class of persons who wish to introduce something *new*.

and honest men have hesitated in opposing female suffrage, lest they should also seem to support the laws and customs that have really wronged the opposite sex. Besides, they have generally been willing to listen candidly to the arguments of the Innovators, and are now but just beginning to make systematic replies to them. Some of the best orators and writers in this country and in England have been for some time presenting their views in favor of this movement, and have so thoroughly exhausted the subject, that, since the publication of Mill's "Subjection of Women," there probably remains but little more that can be said on that side of the question.

The men generally have been waiting to hear what the other sex say on the subject; yet some of them have made such progress (?) that they are in favor of female suffrage, while their wives are not. We think that a majority of the women in our country will sustain us when we assert that the greater portion of the men would be willing to grant them the right of voting if they generally desired it, even though the men were not fully convinced that it was best. Notwithstanding what Mill and others have said, it is true in the United States, we think, that four men out of every five, and

perhaps nine out of every ten, yield to their wives as often as their wives yield to them. When a wife scolds the patience out of her husband, or a husband abuses his wife, it attracts attention; but people take no notice of the more numerous class that live in harmony. The opposition is as yet but imperfectly developed, and the success of the so-called reform may not be as certain as some imagine. Some who oppose the movement may be rash and unreasonable, as are some who favor it; but it is a mistake to think that all of the opponents are conservatives who are blindly wedded to the past, and are thoughtlessly resisting the measure because it is new. Probably a majority of the Innovators are thoughtful, intelligent, high-minded men and women, who deserve to be listened to with respect, and answered by arguments founded on truth and reason. If the author is not able to do this, it will be the fault of the head rather than the heart.

I trust that the reader will pardon me for a little egotism at this point, as my own experience may be similar to that of some who read this book. As I had been a Garrisonian abolitionist, after slavery was abolished I felt a natural inclination to follow the same men in the Woman's Rights movement. I read what I

could find on both sides. There seemed to be more arguments in favor of it than I could refute ; yet there was a lurking feeling that there was a fallacy in the reasoning of the Innovators, though I could not discover any. Was this a prejudice still lingering in my mind, or was it a feeling that had its foundation in some truth that I could not discover ? I satisfied myself that my sympathies were all with such noble-minded men as Garrison, Phillips, Theodore Tilton, and others, who were numbered among the leaders. What an honor to be numbered among the first that supported the next great movement of reform ! What a disgrace to resist and be crushed beneath the wheels of progress ! When a man is *sure* that he is on the road to a real reformation, let him spur his mind to enthusiasm by such considerations as these ; but it is never safe to allow his reasoning powers to be influenced by them in forming a correct judgment of what is and what is not a genuine measure of reform.

Having satisfied myself that the feeling which I have mentioned was not what is commonly called prejudice, I was still unable to answer the arguments which were advanced in favor of female suffrage. I took for granted that there was no mental difference in the sexes

worthy of consideration ; that society and all just government were founded on the individuals, not the families ; and that, of those persons who had come to years of discretion and were of sound mind, one had just as good a right to the ballot as another. I could understand why a woman should not be required to do military duty, because there was a physical incapacity ; but there was no marked mental inferiority on account of which she could be declared incapable of voting intelligibly. If the premises given above be granted, I could not then, nor can I now, see how logically to avoid coming to the conclusion that women are in duty bound to go to the ballot-box and vote, the same as men.

When I say that I took the premises just mentioned for granted, I do not mean to assert that I then analyzed the workings of my mind and found I was taking them for granted in all my reasonings ; in fact, I was doing this unconsciously, when I found myself in a dilemma, and in order to extricate myself, I was obliged to go back and examine every thing, and see if it was possible to reach a solid foundation anywhere. It has taken me a long time to do it, but I have, at last, reached a solution which has satisfied my own mind ; whether it will appear

reasonable to the mind of any other person or not, the future must decide. If I had the ability, age, and experience of John Stuart Mill, my opponent, I might hope to be more successful in presenting my arguments than I dare now presume to expect.

We think that the Innovators will admit that they take the premises, which have been given, for granted, and rest all their reasoning upon them for a foundation. Perhaps they have never analyzed them in this way ; but we do not see how they can raise any serious objection to the statement of them as given above. Now, if these premises can be proved false, of course the arguments of the Innovators will fall to the ground. The task is a difficult one. Arguments that will be considered conclusive by the author, may be declared worthless by an opponent. But no harm can come from a fair discussion, and good may result. If we use fallacious arguments, or in any way lead the reader to a wrong conclusion, we hope that some one will be loyal to truth, and refute them. We shall endeavor to make this book in all respects an ally of truth, although we feel conscious that we cannot do this unless directed by wisdom higher than that which comes from earth.

The popular mind is often more readily influ-

enced by that which *seems* to be the echo of some generally-received principle, than by sound logical reasoning. It takes but little perversion or explanation to make the Declaration of Independence support almost any idea that is advanced. If a public speaker talks an hour on any political subject, and closes by repeating, "We hold these truths to be self-evident," &c., some of his hearers get the idea that there is a logical connection between what he has said of his own and what he has quoted, although they may really be opposed to each other. We once heard a political speaker talk for two hours, and during this time he hardly advocated a principle that was not in letter and spirit directly opposed to the truths of Christianity; but he closed by giving the audience as glowing a description of the truth and value of the Bible as any Christian minister could have given. Doubtless some of the people went away thinking that all he said was founded on Scripture. There is a story related of an Indian who told a white man that if he would go over a hill he would find a lake, near the lake a large rock, and by the rock a bag of gold. The white man went and searched, but came back cursing the Indian.

"Why," said the red man, "did you not find the lake?"

"Yes," was the reply.

"And did you not find the rock?"

"Yes."

"Well! you need not complain then; two truths for one lie is very well for an Indian."

Those who advocate female suffrage are not guilty of falsehood, like the Indian, but some of them take a very absurd way to influence people to believe their doctrines. They tell us two truths in regard to women, and then denounce us as enemies to the sex if we do not conclude that women have a right to vote, when the facts stated have no logical relation to the question. For instance, the speaker will tell a pathetic story in regard to the sufferings of a poor girl in some city; then he may state some historical fact showing the abuse to which women have been subjected; and, finally, he will close his speech by assuring his audience that if the ballot is once in the hands of the women, these abuses and horrors will no longer exist. If this is reasoning, then John Stuart Mill's "System of Logic" is good for nothing."

The book recently written by Dr. Bushnell contains many excellencies, but the truth is not presented in such a manner as to satisfy the mind of the reader. He indulges too much in random thoughts, that are good in themselves,

but do not form an exhaustive argument. The author evidently has the truth in his own mind, but he has not been accustomed to that style of writing which is characteristic of the logical debater. If he had been in the habit of writing such works as Mill has written, he would have given us a book that might be considered equal to the one just presented to the public by that illustrious Englishman. We do not think that the Innovators have given him credit for what he "has done. Perhaps they consider it for their interest to make the book appear of little value. The benefit which we have derived from the perusal of his work has assisted us in preparing some parts of this. The man who first writes a book on any subject labors under disadvantages that are unknown to those who come after him.

"The Subjection of Women," by Mill, has been the most powerful stimulant which we have found in forming the plan of this book. It is the strongest argument that has been produced on that side of the question ; but is brought out in such a way that the weak points of the Innovators may be easily discovered, although he uses much tact in covering them up. If Mill is a great thinker, his writings show that his mind sometimes becomes enamoured with the beauty

of the ideal, causing him to wander too far from the practical. This "aberration" is admirably described by himself. "The principal and most characteristic aberration of speculative minds, as such, consists precisely in the deficiency of this lively perception and ever-present sense of objective fact. For want of this, they often not only overlook the contradiction which outward facts oppose to their theories, but lose sight of the legitimate purpose of speculation altogether, and let their speculative faculties go astray into regions not peopled with real beings, animate or inanimate, even idealized, but with personified shadows created by the illusions of metaphysics or by the mere entanglement of words, and think these shadows the proper objects of the highest, the most transcendent, philosophy." (p. 108.\*)

Notwithstanding the fact that the book is for the most part pervaded with the spirit of a philosopher, there are some portions where the intense feeling of the author does violence to his judgment. For instance, he says, "The law of servitude in marriage is a monstrous contradiction to all the principles of the modern world, and to all the experience through which those

\* The references are to Appleton's Edition of Mill's *Subjection of Women*.

principles have been slowly and painfully worked out. It is the sole case, now that negro slavery has been abolished, in which a human being in the plenitude of every faculty is delivered up to the tender mercies of another human being, in the hope forsooth that this other will use the power solely for the good of the person subjected to it. Marriage is the only actual bondage known to our law. There remain no legal slaves, except the mistress of every house." (p. 147.) The common law of England is, in many respects, unjust to the wife; but the passage quoted is a gross exaggeration. This sweeping assertion was either made when the author was under the influence of a stimulated imagination, or, at best, goes to show that Mill was correct in his "System of Logic," when he wrote, "that even the most cultivated portion of our species have not yet learned to abstain from drawing conclusions for which the evidence is insufficient."

There are some other passages of a similar character in "The Subjection of Women." These would seem more pardonable in a public speaker, who might wish, on account of the apathy of his audience, to say something startling; yet in such a case there is a re-action afterward, when the mind of the hearer exam-

ines carefully the statements of the speaker. The plain truth has more effect in the end than any exaggeration. Men were *moved* when they listened to the touching appeals of the abolitionists, as they revealed the horrors of slavery, because their representations were genuine and truthful. Some of the Innovators have endeavored to arouse public opinion by portraying the wrongs of women in glowing colors; but they have failed to accomplish as much by this as they anticipated, because every one knows, from observation, that their representations are exaggerated. The Innovators are right in contending for some changes. They have done some good already, and we do not wish to write any thing that will tend to hinder them from accomplishing what will really benefit woman. This book is written mainly to oppose female suffrage; but there are some kindred projects that demand opposition. When we think that the Innovators mistake evil for good, we shall try to give good reasons for supporting our theory in preference to theirs. When we think that they are striving for any good result, we may suggest a method of accomplishing it without the tedious and hazardous process of overthrowing the foundations of society and building anew.

In making comparisons, and especially in reasoning from analogy, an author is frequently misunderstood. It should be remembered that, in analogy, and generally, when any thing is introduced for illustration, only one point of resemblance is considered; the comparison or analogy will be good for nothing in all other points. It is sometimes desirable to use illustrations, as they enable the reader to grasp the idea of the author more readily; but they should not be construed to mean more or less than the writer intends.

When governments in all of their complicated workings are able to form the very best laws, they will be found to fall far short of that perfection which is apparent in the laws of God as found in nature and Revelation. Legislators show the greatest wisdom when they form their laws, as nearly as possible, according to the patterns which the great Lawgiver has placed within their reach. We learn from nature that general laws are beneficial only under certain conditions; and if these conditions are disregarded, they become a curse instead of a blessing. For instance, the law of gravitation preserves order and assists in carrying on all of the movements in the world; yet it sometimes brings great enterprises to destruction, and takes

away human life. The light and heat of the sun are necessary for the growth of vegetation ; yet they become the agents of destruction unless there is an abundance of soil and moisture. If there is a drought, the sun withers and scorches the green fields until they become a desolate waste. Who would not laugh at the man, that, in such a case, should wish to have the sun blotted out of existence, for the sake of preserving vegetation ! There are political reformers (?) who are enthusiastic over measures that they think would be beneficial to a minority ; but they do not take into consideration the fact that these same measures would be detrimental to the masses. They behold a little patch of grass withering, and shout, “ Away with the sun ! ” without *intending* any harm to the world at large. They *mean* well, but are short-sighted. If society is composed of families, it is evident that the laws should be based upon an entirely different principle from that which would be just and consistent were there no such institution as the marriage relation.

Erroneous conclusions are often drawn from *facts*, but not all of the facts. One reason why some are eager to destroy old customs and laws, and adopt new, is, that they live in some

city or section where the condition of those around them is unlike that of the greater portion of the people of the whole country : hence they think of some measure which would benefit thousands of those around them, but overlook the fact that it might injure millions in other parts of the country. It has been urged in favor of female suffrage, that, in the State of Massachusetts, woman's vote would insure such a stringent liquor-law, that drunkenness would be almost impossible. Perhaps it is true ; yet in some other parts of the country it would increase the chances of corruption, and the aggregate gain to morality might be a *loss*. However, suppose that it would be a gain to the cause of justice for a few years, there is no certainty that this would last. For instance, take the case of prohibitory laws, where we would least expect to find woman wrong. At the present it would seem almost impossible to make as many women use intoxicating drinks as men ; but influences might be brought to bear that would little by little diminish the horror which women feel at the sight of a drunken man. Moderate drinking is very respectable in the sight of many women now. The number who use intoxicating drinks is larger than some suppose. At present, men

generally try to conceal their intemperate habits from their female friends ; but, as soon as woman becomes a voter, means will be used to make her as corrupt as her male associates. And, improbable as it now seems, the gentler sex, in the course of a generation, *might* be in a condition to vote no better on prohibitory laws than men do now ; beside, having become debased themselves, the cause of morality would lose, instead of gain. The reason why women are now better than men, is because they are under better influences, and less subjected to temptation. We have only to go to some portions of our cities, to learn how depraved and hideous woman can become. We do not now say that such evil results *would* be brought about, but we say that they *might*. "Evil communications corrupt good manners." If only a *few* more women were lowered morally by the use of strong drink, the *amount* of immorality would be greater than it is now.

In the midst of the disturbances and commotions of this world, it is the misfortune of the few to be placed in circumstances unlike those which surround the mass of mankind. As society is organized for and by the majority, customs and laws which are really as good as they

can be operate to the disadvantage of the minority. To do justice to those few cases in which injustice would prevail according to general laws, courts of equity have been established with certain discretionary powers. As a general rule, it is not safe for law to make exceptions; and, when special provisions are made for the few, there is need of great caution to prevent causing evils greater than those removed. A generous, warm-hearted man would naturally think that there could be no danger of making too ample provision for the poor; but political economists have proved that there is. There are many men who would not make an effort to support themselves, if they could have a new suit of clothes furnished them as often as the old ones became ragged.

"We legislate, we arrange society, for the masses, not the exceptions," says Wendell Phillips. The reasoning in some portions of "Mill's Subjection of Women" is fallacious, as he draws his conclusions from the exceptions. Laws or customs founded upon such philosophy must necessarily be unjust to the majority; yet the public is more easily deceived in this way than in any other, as it is generally supposed to be sufficient for a man to state *facts*,

and then derive his conclusions logically from those facts. By disregarding important truths, and mixing together general and partial truth, it is very easy to obtain *false* conclusions.



## CHAPTER II.

## THE SEXES COMPARED.

HERE has been considerable discussion in regard to the equality of the sexes, within the past few years: some asserting that men and women are mentally equal, some that they are not; and others, that it makes no difference whether they are or not, as far as the question of suffrage is concerned. None of these statements are exactly correct. There is much truth in the remark of Dr. Bushnell, that we cannot predicate equality of things that are unlike. Perhaps it is not necessary to know whether, on the whole, one sex is superior to the other; but it is not possible to determine the *proper* relation of the sexes, without knowing, to a certain extent, their natures, and whether they are alike or unlike. Does not the structure of the fish *prove* it was made to live in the water? We can tell the nature of the food which an animal requires, although we may have never seen one of the

kind before. According to Mill's theory, we would be obliged to try every kind of food in the world before we should *know* that we had obtained the right sort. When we observe a lawyer objecting to a question asked a witness, we do not always conclude that he is trying to keep out matters which are foreign to the case, as it often becomes apparent that he is only employing *strategy*, for the sake of excluding testimony which he foresees will be against him. We do not hesitate to assert, that the reason why the Innovators try to evade all discussion on the nature and relation of the sexes, is because they know that it would injure their cause. If they can prevent their opponents obtaining a foothold, they think that they are safe. They raise the cry that it is a subject that can be discussed and investigated without ever reaching any limit, as though the fact that we cannot tell *exactly* what the difference is between man and woman should keep us from making use of what knowledge we have. This subject is no more indefinite than many others in social and political life which we are constantly investigating. The knowledge of masculine or feminine nature can not be reduced to an exact science; yet there is no difficulty in deducing *some* general truths, — all that are needed to de-

cide the question of female suffrage. All human knowledge is incomplete ; but enough can be known to enable man to solve all of the problems that are involved in the formation and administration of government.

It cannot be denied that in all countries and in all ages there has been a belief in a radical difference between the sexes ; that man is naturally fitted to perform certain duties, and *not* adapted to perform certain other duties ; that woman can perform some things better than man, and others not as well. Adventitious circumstances may account for the fact that the weaker sex has often been wronged, and an arbitrary division of the duties and privileges of the sexes established ; but something more is necessary to account for the *universal* belief in *some* kind of a division of responsibilities. During the earlier periods of the world's history, woman was generally considered the inferior of man. In the age of chivalry, the world went to the other extreme, and made her the superior of man, and she was almost deified. At the present time, in civilized countries, she is generally regarded as the equal of man : the proof of this will be given elsewhere. During these three stages of opinion, there has been no doubt in regard to the difference between the sexes. This belief

has been as general as the idea of a god of some kind. Although but few have had a correct notion of the true God, yet the belief in a superior being of some kind is universal. Perhaps we do not get our idea of a particular sphere for each of the sexes metaphysically by the same method, as the one is probably intuitive and the other learned by observation. If this could be accounted for on the theory that men rule women by *force*, the age of chivalry would have destroyed such a system of usurpation.

Those who have been in favor of female suffrage have not met this question fairly, but have endeavored to brow-beat the public, and have hooted and ridiculed the idea of a particular "sphere" for woman, declaring it nothing but a groundless prejudice. There have been so much scorn and derision brought against this notion, that many who believe in it dare not mention the subject now. Perhaps the author of this book will be ridiculed for reviving a dead subject. When the Innovators carry this point by fair argument, we will yield; but we cannot see the necessity of abandoning a position because it has been assailed by sneers. Perhaps the idea as used by the ignorant was a proper subject for derision, as it was used for a cloak to cover some abuses which every candid person

admits should be removed. The nature of the sexes is the same, or the nature of woman differs from that of man. The Innovators ought to be candid enough to take one side or the other, and cease to evade a fair discussion by vague general assertions. We consider it a self-evident truth, that God never made two classes of creatures radically unlike if he intended them for the *same* sphere of action. The general sentiment of mankind must stand until *proof* is furnished that it is contrary to reason and nature. The *assertion* that this idea is nothing but a groundless prejudice does not make it so. Neither slavery nor any other evil can claim to have been regarded as just and natural by *all* classes and in *all* ages.

Before deciding the question of female suffrage, it is necessary to examine some facts which corroborate the universal belief in a distinction of sex, and ascertain, as nearly as we can, in what respects the sexes differ. But John Stuart Mill meets us here with the lawyer's tactics. He says, in the first place, that our witnesses do not and can not know any thing about woman. As his reasoning on this point is the most ingenious piece of fallacy that has recently been produced, we quote at length from "The Subjection of Women."

"Neither does it avail any thing to say that the *nature* of the two sexes adapts them to their present functions and position, and renders these appropriate to them. Standing on the ground of common sense and the constitution of the human mind, I deny that any one knows, or can know, the nature of the two sexes, as long as they have only been seen in their present relation to one another. If men had ever been found in society without women, or women without men, or if there had been a society of men and women in which the women were not under the control of the men, something might have been positively known about the mental and moral differences which may be inherent in the nature of each. What is now called the nature of women is an eminently artificial thing, — the result of forced repression in some directions, unnatural stimulation in others."

"Hence, in regard to that most difficult question, What are the natural differences between the two sexes, — a subject on which it is impossible in the present state of society to obtain complete and correct knowledge, — while almost everybody dogmatizes upon it, almost all neglect and make light of the only means by which any partial insight can be obtained into it.

This is an analytical study of the most important department of psychology,— the laws of the influence of circumstances on character. For, however great and apparently ineradicable the moral and intellectual differences between men and women might be, the evidence of there being natural differences could only be negative. Those only could be inferred to be natural which could not possibly be artificial,— the residuum, after deducting every characteristic of either sex which can admit of being explained from education or external circumstances. The profoundest knowledge of the laws of the formation of character is indispensable to entitle any one to affirm even that there is any difference, much more what the difference is, between the two sexes considered as moral and rational beings; and since no one, as yet, has that knowledge (for there is hardly any subject which, in proportion to its importance, has been so little studied), *no one is thus far entitled to any positive opinion on the subject.* Conjectures are all that can at present be made,— conjectures more or less probable, according as more or less authorized by such knowledge as we yet have of the laws of psychology, as applied to the formation of character.

“ Even the preliminary knowledge, what the

differences between the sexes now are, apart from all question as to how they are made what they are, is still in the crudest and most incomplete state. Medical practitioners and physiologists have ascertained, to some extent, the differences in bodily constitution ; and this is an important element to the psychologist ; but hardly any medical practitioner is a psychologist. Respecting the mental characteristics of women, their observations are of no more worth than those of common men. It is a subject on which nothing final can be known, so long as those who alone can really know it, women themselves, have given but little testimony, and that little mostly suborned. It is easy to know stupid women. Stupidity is much the same all the world over. A stupid person's notions and feelings may confidently be inferred from those which prevail in the circle by which the person is surrounded. Not so with those whose opinions and feelings are an emanation from their own nature and faculties. It is only a man here and there who has any tolerable knowledge of the character even of the women of his own family. I do not mean of their capabilities, these nobody knows,—not even themselves,—because most of them have never been called out. I mean their actually existing thoughts and feelings." He

then enumerates a dozen difficulties in the way of a man's understanding his own wife *perfectly*, and says that to have his knowledge good for any thing, she must be a woman "worth knowing, and the man not only a competent judge, but of a character so sympathetic in itself, and so well adapted to hers, that he can either read her mind by sympathetic intuition, or has nothing in himself which makes her shy of disclosing it. *Hardly any thing, I believe, can be more rare than this conjunction.*" We can see at once that Mill is following his fancy ; for government is based, not upon a knowledge of these "rare" cases, but upon the knowledge we have of the masses,—"stupid" men and women, as well as the wise and learned. He then adds, "All these difficulties stand in the way of a man's obtaining any thorough knowledge even of the one woman whom alone, in general, he has sufficient opportunity of studying. When we further consider that to understand one woman is not necessarily to understand any other woman ; that even if he could study many women of one rank, or of one country, he would not thereby understand women of other ranks or countries ; and even if he did, they are still only the women of a single period of history : we may safely assert that the knowledge which

men can acquire of women, even as they have been and are, without reference to what they might be, is *wretchedly imperfect and superficial*, and always will be so, until women themselves have told all that they have to tell. . . .

"The greater part of what women write about women is mere sycophancy to men. In the case of unmarried women, much of it seems only intended to increase their chance of a husband. Many, both married and unmarried, overstep the mark, and inculcate a servility beyond what is desired or relished by any man, except the vulgarest. But this is not so often the case as, even at a quite late date, it still was. Literary women are becoming more free-spoken, and more willing to express their real sentiments. Unfortunately, in this country especially, they are themselves such artificial products, that their sentiments are compounded of a small element of individual observation and consciousness, and a very large one of acquired associations. This will be less and less the case, but it will remain true to a great extent, as long as social institutions do not admit the same free development of originality in women which is possible to men. When that time comes, and not before, we shall see, and not merely hear, as much as it is necessary to know of the nature of women, and the adaptation of other things to it.

“I have dwelt so much on the difficulties which at present obstruct any real knowledge by men of the true nature of women, because in this as in so many other things, ‘opinio copiae inter maximas causas inopiae est ;’ and there is little chance of reasonable thinking on the matter, while people flatter themselves that they perfectly understand a subject of which most men know absolutely nothing, and of which it is at present impossible that any man, or all men taken together, should have any knowledge which can qualify them to lay down the law to women as to what is, or is not, their vocation.” pp. 38–48. *Hence, if there are no fallacies in the foregoing*, he has shown that *the known*, in regard to woman, is *infinitesimally small*, while *the unknown* is *infinitely large*. He proves not only enough, but *too much* for his own cause. If we believe Mill, we must conclude that at present we have no means of telling whether women are inferior, equal, or superior to men ; and, further, we must also conclude that the knowledge which Mr. Mill has of the subject on which he has written a book “*is wretchedly imperfect and superficial.*” Mill admits that the presumption should be in favor of the existing order of society. He comes before the world and says substantially this : “I find from history

that *men* have thus far ruled the world, while there is a race of beings called *women* who have been otherwise engaged. I can not ascertain much about the character of women ; in fact, the truth in regard to their character is so utterly unknown, that '*no one is thus far entitled to any positive opinion on the subject.*' I find, however, that they will lie and equivocate\* for the sake of pleasing the men, and are, as a general rule, a race of sycophants.† Notwithstanding these obstacles, '*there are no means of finding what either one person or many can do, but by trying ;*' as '*conjectures are all that can at present be made :*' hence, I conjecture that it would be one of the grandest reformations of modern times to tear down the system by which the world has been governed, and make these unknown beings called women rulers as well as men ; and I feel confident that we have no means of computing the good that will result from the change." If he had made this the whole of his message to the world, his inconsistencies would have been fewer than they now are, and easily detected by the public.

Mill was determined to annihilate his opponents by this one grand stroke of reasoning. Let us compare him to a captain of a ship. He

\* See p. 27, line 13.

† See p. 39, lines 5 and 6.

wishes to give the enemy a broadside ; so every gun is charged to the muzzle : at the word "fire," there is such a mighty shock that the very waves shudder. There is a smile of triumph on the face of Mill as he beholds the ship of his antagonist sinking. At first he does not notice that the concussion has been so powerful that his own ship has been shattered and is already sinking ; but he is soon aroused by cries of "help." Not in the least disconcerted, he proceeds to construct a raft, on which he hopes to escape. Here is the identical structure on which he rides and claims a victory : "Happily, no such knowledge is necessary for any practical purpose connected with the position of women in relation to society and life. For, according to all the principles involved in modern society, the question rests with women themselves,—to be decided by their own experience, and by the use of their own faculties. There are no means of finding what either one person or many can do but by trying, and no means by which any one else can discover for them what it is for their happiness to do or leave undone." If he had not built this frail contrivance, he certainly could have had no excuse for writing the remainder of his book. Let us examine it. He appeals "to all the principles involved in

modern society," which is composed of many "suborned," "stupid," "sycophantic" women, and a very few sensible ones, and men who are denounced as tyrants and usurpers! There is a wonderful inconsistency in his appealing to a tribunal composed of such persons; besides, his book is written to show that the "principles involved in modern society" are wrong. Then he adds, "the question rests with women themselves;" but here he seems to remember that he has already called them a stupid set of sycophants, and he knows, too, that, if the question were left to woman now, they would decide against him: so he puts in a dash, and leaves the matter to "experience" instead of woman; but he forgets to tell us how we are to get the "suborned" sex to make the trial. When he says that there are "no means" of deciding any question of this kind, except by trial, he states what he does not believe himself. We would not undervalue experience; but we have means of arriving at a good degree of probability on most subjects before a trial has been made. We know *certainly* that it would be injurious to the public good to allow children six years of age to vote; and there are many other things that we *know* without trying. Reasoning from what knowledge we have, we can decide most

political questions beforehand with a good degree of certainty. If we were to try female suffrage for two hundred years, and there should then be a philosopher as ingenious as Mill, he would prove conclusively (?) that we had no means of telling whether the experiment has been a success or not. He would show that all of our knowledge on the subject was "wretchedly imperfect and superficial."

Mill so completely destroys himself, that it is hardly necessary for us to examine each point separately; yet we will briefly notice some of them. When he says that we could know something about the inherent nature of the sexes, if there had ever been a society where the women were not under the control of the men, he assumes that such a case has never happened; which is false, as it is well known that in the age of chivalry the men were completely under the control of women, or as much so as we could well conceive of; besides, he has no right to *assume* that they are under the control of men at present, as all of his opponents claim that women have now *essentially* as much power as men. We have as good right to *assume* this as he has the contrary.

As the great majority of women are now opposed to female suffrage, Mill strives hard to

impeach these opposing witnesses, and rule out their testimony ; but it is nonsense to assume that those who are opposed to female suffrage are any less sincere than those who favor it. It is true he does not say directly that they are ; but, if he does not mean this, there is no meaning in his remarks about the opinion and testimony of women. The greater part of the unfairness of Mill's book consists in the sly, easy, and misleading manner in which he gets over those points which would be likely to provoke opposition. He did not dare to say, "I consider the testimony of those women, who do not believe as I do, worthless ; while that given by my female friends is very valuable."

Perhaps it is hardly fair to say that Mill *intends* to mislead, as it is possible that his ingenuity leads his own mind astray. If we follow him step by step, we seem to think it *necessary* to get the positive kind of evidence which he shows cannot be obtained ; but a moment's reflection will convince his readers that *certainty* is not to be reached, in a great many political problems : yet we can acquire such a degree of probability, that it amounts to the same thing. We do not need to know psychologically *all* the characteristics of a man to

decide whether he can be a good mechanic or not. We need to know only *a few* of the mental qualities of women to decide the question of suffrage and office-holding, and these need to be but *partially* known. Nearly all great and political and social questions turn on one or two important principles. There are two sides to these questions; and we wish to obtain all the truth we can on both sides, and then decide in favor of that which has the most. It is no matter that we cannot approximate to accuracy in deciding just how great the amount of reliable facts is, if we can only know that the mass of truth on one side is *greater* than that on the other. Accuracy is desirable when it can be obtained; yet, where it cannot, there must be a decision one way or the other. To show that the difficulties are not as great as Mill has represented, we appeal from John Stuart Mill the partisan, to John Stuart Mill the philosopher. When he wrote "The Subjection of Women," he had a special theory to prove; and, when facts or general principles came in his way, he trampled them under foot. When he wrote his "System of Logic," or at least the portion of it to which we refer, we have every reason to believe that he wrote as a philosophical thinker. We do

not suppose that he then had any temptation to distort the truth.

"There is a case in which approximate propositions, even without our taking note of the conditions under which they are not true of individual cases, are yet, for the purposes of science, universal ones; namely, in the scientific inquiries which relate to the properties, not of individuals, but of multitudes. The principal of these is the science of politics, or of human society. This science is principally concerned with the actions, not of solitary individuals, but of masses; with the fortunes, not of single persons but of communities. For the statesman, therefore, it is generally enough to know that *most* act or are acted upon in a particular way, since his speculations and his practical arrangements refer almost exclusively to cases in which the whole community, or some large portion of it, is acted upon at once, and in which, therefore, what is done or felt by *most* persons determines the result produced by or upon the body at large. He can get on well enough with approximate generalizations on human nature, since what is true approximately of all individuals is true absolutely of all masses. And even when the operations of individual men have a part to play in his de-

ductions, as when he is reasoning of kings, or other single rulers, still, as he is providing for indefinite duration, involving an indefinite succession of such individuals, he must, in general, both reason and act as if what is true of most persons were true of all.

“The two kinds of considerations above adduced are a sufficient refutation of the popular error, that speculations on society and government, as resting upon merely probable evidence, must be inferior in certainty and scientific accuracy to the conclusions of what are called the exact sciences, and less to be relied upon in practice.” (Book. III. Chap. 23, Sec. 7.)

In the chapter on a science of human nature, we find the following: “But further, even in any given combination of present circumstances, no assertion, which is both precise and universally true, can be made respecting the manner in which human beings will think, feel, or act. This is not, however, because every person’s modes of thinking, feeling, and acting, do not depend upon causes; nor can we doubt that if, in the case of any individual, our date could be complete, we even now know enough of the ultimate laws by which mental phenomena are determined, to enable us to predict

with tolerable certainty, if not with perfect precision, what, under any given set of circumstances, his conduct or sentiments would be. But the impressions and actions of human beings are not solely the result of their present circumstances, but the joint result of those circumstances and the characters of individuals; and the agencies which determine human character are so numerous and diversified (nothing which has happened to the person throughout life being without its portion of influence), that in the aggregate they are never in any two cases exactly similar. Hence, even if our science of human nature were theoretically perfect, that is, if we could calculate any character as we can calculate the orbit of any planet, from given data, still, as the data are never all given, nor ever precisely alike in different cases, we could neither make infallible predictions, nor lay down universal propositions.

"Inasmuch, however, as many of those effects which it is of most importance to render amenable to human foresight and control are determined, like the tides, in an incomparably greater degree by general causes, than by all partial causes taken together; depending in the main on those circumstances and those qualities which are common to all mankind, or common at

least to large bodies of them, and only in a small degree on the idiosyncrasies of organization or the peculiar history of individuals ; is evidently possible, with regard to all such effects, to make predictions which will *almost* always be verified, and general propositions which are almost always true. And whenever it is sufficient to know how the great majority of the human race, or of some nation or class of persons, will think, feel, and act, these propositions are equivalent to universal ones. For the purposes of political and social science this *is* sufficient. As we formerly remarked, an approximate generalization is practically, in social inquiries, equivalent to an exact one ; that which is only probable when asserted of human beings taken individually, being certain when affirmed of the character and collective conduct of masses." (Book VI. Chap. 3, Sec. 2.)

Could any one ask for a more complete refutation of Mill's position than he himself has given ? We shall show in another place, as well as we can, that the question of suffrage must depend upon the mass of women, not individuals. According to the above, this would make the difficulty very small, comparatively. As boys and girls are born of the same parents, *all that is said in regard to the influences which*

*have controlled women for ages is good for nothing*, as they would leave their impression on the male as well as female children. The disturbing causes are only the peculiarities of *present* circumstances, that is, the circumstances of each age, which mould the then existing women. As women have been placed in a great variety of circumstances, it is not difficult to decide what peculiarities are *natural*: hence it is safe to say that the question of suffrage must be determined "in an incomparably greater degree by general causes, than by all partial causes taken together."

We are ready to grant that woman's character would be, to a certain extent, changed by engaging in political life. She would probably become *developed* by those duties, as man is, and she would be much more like man. If Mill and his coadjutors can prove that such a change is *desirable*, then they have so much in favor of the innovation: if we can prove that it is not, then we have so much against it. It is rather strange that those who wish to have women engage in all the duties that men do, in order that they may have the same chance of mental development, deny that they would become masculine. They contradict themselves: for their plea is, that the placing of the other sex in the same circumstances would bring about *the*

*same* mental development. If that would not make woman *like* man, or, in other words, masculine, what would? If we suppose, on the other hand, that woman will not become masculine under any circumstances, it follows that she cannot receive *the same* mental development that man can, and we must conclude that the sexes are *unlike*,—the mind of one expanding in one direction, and that of the other in another. This does not make one inferior to the other, by any means. The Innovators seem to have an idea that by some miraculous process woman is to retain all of her own characteristics, and then acquire the good qualities of the other sex without any of the bad ones. Neither philosophy nor common sense can justify such hopes. The question to be decided, then, is simply this: Is it desirable to have woman become masculine, instead of retaining the characteristics of her own sex?

When we can prove that certain duties are *natural* to one sex, while they are not to the other, we have reached an ultimate principle, and no further reason can be given or required. However, by an examination of the peculiar characteristics of each sex, we can show that the dissimilarity in the mental structure of the sexes is *reasonable, and consistent with the good-*

*ness and wisdom of the Creator*; while a similarity would not be. We propose now to notice some of the most important physical and mental distinctive characteristics of the sexes. The proof of the truthfulness of the following assertions is found in the history of the past and present. We rely upon the reader's observation to sustain our positions. We do not expect to convince cavillers in this part of our arguments, but hope to persuade the honest inquirer.

We believe that in some respects men are naturally superior to women; we also believe that in others women are superior to men. In those respects in which one sex is inferior, the other is superior. The assertion that the sexes are equal is probably true, if rightly understood; but, in the way that the word *equal* is often used, it does not convey the exact truth, but leads to confusion. When we say that five dollars in gold is equal to five dollars in silver, we do not mean that there is equality of quantity or weight, but of *value*. Let us suppose that the statement that Napoleon was equal to Milton is true. An examination of the two persons would show a difference of mental organization, so that in some respects one would be found inferior to the other, and at the same time superior in other points; but the *value* of the mental endowments

of one would be equal to that of the other. The only kind of equality that can be said to exist between the sexes, is that which exists between objects that are unlike. In this sense it is safe to say that the sexes are equal, although we have no means of knowing the *exact* truth. The functions of the heart are unlike those of the brain, but both organs are equally indispensable. The interests of the two sexes are so completely interwoven, that either has a *right* to inquire into the nature and duties of the other. Woman has a perfect right to understand the natural characteristics of man, as she can justly claim the performance of those duties which nature has evidently designed man for. The male portion of the community has an equal right to study the character of the other sex: in fact, it is the *duty* of both sexes to learn as much as possible about themselves, in order that they may the better act the part which God has given them. Man's physical system is larger and stronger than woman's; consequently he is able to endure greater hardship, and is fitted to perform the heavier kinds of labor: hence we have a right to conclude that God intended that man should be responsible for the performance of all those tasks for which he is naturally adapted. He is bound to protect the other sex against all

violence ; and if moderate measures are not sufficient, he must engage in active warfare. On the other hand, there is a lack of delicacy and fineness in the masculine structure. Strength and delicacy do not seem to be compatible. Perhaps God could have combined them ; but it is enough for us to know that he has not, except in a small degree. Superiority in both is not found in the same object. It would be a useless expense to rig a ship with ropes of silk. So *Nature abhors extravagance.*

If woman had been made as strong as man and no more delicate, there would have been more of one kind of laborers than needed, and a total lack in some departments. By practice, a person can learn to perform almost any duty in a certain manner, but superiority is only attained by *natural* capabilities ; or, in other words, God can prepare his agents for the work he has laid out for them better than man can. No combination of circumstances could enable man to fill the place of woman, yet he could by practice perform the physical duties of woman better than the mental. To make the world complete, there was need of one sex adapted to the performance of a great variety of light but delicate tasks : great strength was not needed, but great agility and delicacy. It seems at the first

thought rather strange that the sex which bears the children should be weaker than the other ; but a quiet life and protection are more necessary for this purpose than any thing else ; and, other things being equal, the pain of child-bearing is greater with those women who have a strong, muscular system, than with those who are more delicate.

Among some barbarous and half-civilized nations, woman has been made physically masculine as much as circumstances could make her such. Experience has proved that equality of sex in this way is by no means desirable. Chinamen can perform all kinds of female labor : they preserve the distinction of sex, however, by forcing woman into an unnatural position. If we take China as an illustration, few would think it desirable to make men effeminate. The progress of civilization has been greatest where the natural peculiarities of the sexes have been allowed full play, and have not been moulded by artificial means ; yet the distinction of sex has been marked and unmistakable. Where man has forced woman to perform the hard labor, he has robbed her of the ability to execute those tender offices which make home so charming in civilized society.

It is not easy to tell the exact relation which

the mind bears to the body, yet there is no doubt that they correspond to a certain extent. Some claim that the texture of the mind can be known by that of the hair. For our purposes, we do not care to know just how much truth there is in the various theories in regard to mind and body. This much is certain, as a general rule, they do not contradict, but confirm each other. Out of a hundred men with delicate physical systems, it is a safe estimate to say that the minds of ninety of them exhibit a corresponding tendency. When we find a woman with a coarse, masculine mind, we generally discover the same tendency in her physique. No candid man can deny that, as a general rule, the mental characteristics of the sexes correspond to the physical. Circumstances have never been found powerful enough to reduce men and women to the same physical standard. The same is true in regard to the mind; and, considering the importance of these two facts, are we not justified in concluding that circumstances never *can* make the minds of men and women alike?

For scientific purposes, the most unfavorable case is that when the observed object can be examined at only one period of development. The difficulties are comparatively few where there can be an examination at any stage, as is the

case with the human mind. But the workings of the mind are not easily noted, as they are known only by their effects. In the comparison of the sexes, however, there is much less difficulty than in the investigation of individual minds, as we are only called upon to note differences. There has not been any scientific investigation of this subject, but there is a good chance to make one; yet there are enough facts known to the public by general observation to justify what we have to say.

In early childhood the face gives no intelligible indication of sex; while at the age of ten the countenance of a boy can generally be distinguished from that of a girl. Even when there has been no difference of outside influence, there is then discernible a difference in the minds of the two sexes. The mental movements of the girl are quicker than those of the boy, who is more inclined to acquire knowledge by slow and steady movements. This subject could be best studied in the case of twins, who would exhibit little but sexual difference. Those who reject the popular belief in regard to the minds of the sexes, might try the experiment by keeping one hundred pairs of twins under the same influence until they reach the age of twenty. We are confident that the sex of mind would be found

more marked than that of the physique. From the age of ten to twenty, the outward appearance and the minds of the sexes show a constant progress in the diverging process. We do not feel called upon to prove that the mental distinction of sex cannot be eradicated by education, since there has never been any attempt in the shape of proof to overthrow the existing opinion. We are only offering some considerations to substantiate the general belief. It does no good to point out exceptional cases, as the principles on which woman enters political life, if she does, must be founded upon what is true of the majority. There are some women who have greater physical strength than the average of men, but we can not generalize from such facts.

The minds of men and women correspond with their bodies. Those of the former are strong, coarse, and slow; those of the latter, while they have less strength, have superiority in quality and rapidity. Hence we find equal values in different forms. Woman's mind is not made to grapple with hard, tough problems; but she can perform those mental tasks that come within her sphere with celerity, accuracy, ease, and grace. A great share of the studies that come within a college course are as well

adapted to one sex as the other, yet there are some that belong more properly to one. For the sake of mental discipline, however, there need be no distinction, as the minds of both sexes should be made as broad and comprehensive as possible. In real life, it would be an expensive waste of strength to employ any person or class of persons in the performance of duties that do not harmonize with the mind of the laborer when there are others that do. The best guide in this matter is probably the inclinations of the individuals.

In the acquisition of knowledge, the flexibility and celerity of the female mind enables woman to surpass man in some branches ; while in others, which require a slow and strong movement of the mind, the male has the advantage. As the clumsy fingers of men are sometimes obliged to grant the precedence to those that are more nimble and delicate, so the keen, delicate mind of woman perceives and seizes many things that escape the notice of the other sex. It is an admitted principle in philosophy, that what is gained in power is lost in time. Out of the same material we can make a short, strong rope or a long, slender one. The carriage-horse moves his light load along with great speed ; while another makes but slow progress, as he has

a heavy load to drag. A horse that is good for one purpose is of little service for another, although the *value* of the horse may be the same as that of another kind. The Creator did not bestow all his blessings upon one sex, and leave the other destitute. If, in addition to what woman can now do, she could compete successfully with man where he now has the pre-eminence, she would not be his equal, but his superior. There is no danger of this, as God has provided a regular system of *compensation*; so that, when one person covets what he has not, with the idea that it is better than that already possessed, he loses the old in acquiring the new. Every person has a certain amount of vital power, and any portion of it that is expended for one purpose cannot be used for another. If this force is applied to many objects, there can be but little at any one point: if to a few, it will be great. The doctrine of the conservation and correlation of forces is one of the greatest truths of modern philosophy, and should be studied and understood by all who use their bodies or their minds. When a man buys ten bushels of oats, and feeds out nine, he knows that he has but one left; yet we have educated men and women who *consume* or *use up* nine-tenths of their mental pow-

ers for one purpose, and then think that they have as much left that can be used for other objects. They do not know that what is *unseen* is governed by the same laws as matter that can be measured by the senses.

Women ought not to think themselves slandered if they are told that they are inferior to men in some mental characteristics ; for this very statement carries with it the admission that they are superior to men in gifts of another nature. It is much better to seek for a philosophical explanation of facts than it is to deny them. It is easy enough to make an egg stand on end after we know *how*. For the discovery of great philosophical truths, the slow, steady strength of the masculine mind is necessary. The performance of such duties cannot be well accomplished by the mind of woman. Her superiority is in another direction. On this subject we find the following admission by Mill : " Let us take, then, the only marked case which observation affords of apparent inferiority of women to men, if we except the merely physical one of bodily strength. No production in philosophy, science, or art, entitled to the first rank, has been the work of woman. Is there any mode of accounting for this, without supposing that women are naturally incapable of producing them ?

“If we consider the works of women in modern times, and contrast them with those of men, either in the literary or the artistic department, such inferiority as may be observed resolves itself essentially into one thing: but that is a most material one,—deficiency of originality, not total deficiency; for every production of mind which is of any substantial value has an originality of its own,—is a conception of the mind itself, not a copy of something else. Thoughts original, in the sense of being unborrowed,—of being derived from the thinker’s own observations or intellectual processes,—are abundant in the writings of women. But they have not yet produced any of those great and luminous new ideas which form an era in thought, nor those fundamentally new conceptions in art, which open a vista of possible effects not before thought of, and found a new school. Their compositions are mostly grounded on the existing fund of thought, and their creations do not deviate widely from existing types. This is the sort of inferiority which their works manifest; for, in point of execution, in the detailed application of thought, and the perfection of style, there is no inferiority. Our best novelists, in point of composition and of the man-

agement of detail, have mostly been women; and there is not in all modern literature a more eloquent vehicle of thought than the style of Madame de Staél, nor, as a specimen of purely artistic excellence, any thing superior to the prose of Madame Sand, whose style acts upon the nervous system like a symphony of Hadyn or Mozart. High originality of conception is, as I have said, what is chiefly wanting. And now to examine if there is any manner in which this deficiency can be accounted for." (pp. 126-129.)

In trying to explain facts according to his theory, Mill has really done woman injustice. After the success which women have achieved in the literary world, it cannot truthfully be said that they are less original than men. It is a fact that their writings are generally unlike those of men: hence they must have an originality of their own. If Mill would admit the dissimilarity between the minds of the two sexes, there would be no difficulty in explaining the facts which he mentions. Mill endeavors to explain the fact that woman has not been a discoverer in philosophy and science, by saying that she has not had a chance, except within the past three generations. If we grant this, it is evident that his explanation is worthless, from the fact that woman has been engaged

in the literary world long enough to attain eminence in other departments. Women have studied philosophy and science as well as men ; but not as much, for the simple reason that their taste has led them in a different direction. A person's inclination usually leads the individual where the mind is most fully developed. In the discovery of philosophical truth, the slow, steady strength of the masculine is necessary ; while "in point of execution, in the detailed application of thought, and the perfection of style," woman is not merely what Mill claims, — equal to man, — but *superior*. What man ever wrote like Madame de Staël ? The originality of woman is of one kind, that of man of another. Man is the best judge of *the true*; woman, of *the beautiful*. Truth and beauty are not the same, but they always harmonize. The rough materialism of the age makes the latter seem subordinate to the former, while Nature teaches that they are of equal importance. It is a fact that man was made before woman ; it is also a fact that the rough frame of the house is constructed *before* it is painted, decorated, and furnished with that which renders it pleasing, attractive, and *beautiful*. If we were to be deprived of every thing that has any degree of beauty, and something equally *useful* were to be substituted in

place, we would soon learn how much we had lost. There is scarcely any thing without a degree of beauty. Those dreary dungeons and desolate places, which are so much dreaded by all, are such not from any positive attributes, but simply from the *absence* of beauty. Man is the pioneer, and must necessarily play the most important part in a new country. When young America is older, there will be less noise about railroads and other improvements, that are all-important and necessary now; and there will not be so much temptation for women to engage in masculine duties. Matters that are on the mind of everybody now will be of little consequence one or two hundred years hence. We may need a *man's rights society* by that time.

In works of the imagination, the masculine is readily distinguished from the feminine mind. The strength and boldness of man, as exhibited in a masterpiece of fiction, is quite unlike that of woman in the same department. No woman could have conceived "Paradise Lost." In "The Toilers of the Sea," Victor Hugo portrays the rough strength and giant-like efforts of his hero, as he struggles to overcome the powers of nature, as none but a strong, intellectual man could. If the author's name is not known, the reading of a novel generally discloses the sex of the writer.

Of course, there are some works of fiction which come so near the line, that the masculine or feminine mind is not prominent ; but such is not generally the case with works of merit. In fiction, female writers can paint the tender and delicate feelings of the human heart better than men can. A woman's power of intense feelings also enables her to portray faithfully that of others, and she is able to engage our sympathies in matters that would escape the notice of a male writer. No man could have written "Uncle Tom's Cabin," or "Jane Eyre." The distinctive characteristics of the sexes in works of the imagination is so well known, and so generally admitted, that it does not seem to be necessary to examine the subject at length. In poetry and novel writing, the imagination is prominent, althought other faculties are required. In poetry especially, we would expect the sexes to coincide, if in any department of literature. There are separate pieces that exhibit no signs of the sex of the writer ; yet, when the works of one writer are examined together, this is not the case generally.

The reasoning powers of man are superior to those of woman ; or, more properly, where there is a combination of circumstances, and several matters are to be weighed and compared, the

masculine mind is most reliable. Where there is no complication, and a decision must be rendered at once, and almost by instinct, the mind of woman is superior to that of man. It is necessary for the statesman to go through the most tedious methods of investigation, compare results, and be able to sustain his own position and refute that of his adversary. In financial matters, there is the greatest complication, and consequent difficulty, in arranging every thing harmoniously, even when there is no dispute in regard to the end to be attained. In politics, there is a great amount of drudgery and hard labor, and little romance. But very few women would take delight or interest in performing the duties of a congressman. If women are as well adapted to politics as men, then they would succeed as well alone as men. We ask any candid woman how she thinks that a congress, composed entirely of women, would succeed, even if we were to give them the same chance of preparation that men now have. How would they manage the finances? Would it not be rather hard for those to *deliberate* who naturally wish to decide *at once?* The duties of legislators are greater than their privileges. Statesmanship requires something besides the ability to deliver popular lyceum lectures.

But the most marked distinction in the sexes is in regard to the feelings. In man they are subordinate, in woman supreme. The warm, sympathetic heart of a woman exerts a powerful influence over her whole being, and inspires those around her. Man is cool and calculating, and generally compels his sympathies to yield to his judgment. The virtues and failings of one sex are unlike those of the other, and on this account they are admirably adapted to correct each other. In spite of the sneers of the Innovators, who can deny that the wisdom and goodness of the Creator is seen in the adaptation of the sexes to their present relations? The prompt method of deciding, and the magnetic, tender nature of woman, render her the charm and queen of home. No other qualities could serve her so well, and enable her to promptly and tenderly perform her duties. Yet these virtues render her unfit to face and contend with the outside world. She cannot make an impartial judge in the complicated affairs of the public, because her sympathies are so strong that one or two unimportant facts which coincide with her feelings are sufficient to outweigh more important considerations. She would not always make mistakes, to be sure; yet she would be much more liable to do so than man. If she

had the same physical strength that man has, she could not well perform the duties of an officer, and arrest a criminal, perhaps to tear him from his family and put him in prison. Any duty of this kind would be a violent abuse of her tender, sensitive nature. So, in conducting the greater part of masculine affairs, there is a certain degree of rigor required which is incompatible with female character. The stern nature of man enables him to move undisturbed through the varied scenes which surround him. Unless he is restrained by the good and salutary influence of a wife, he is liable to become heartless, and allow his schemes to eradicate every tender feeling of his heart. On the other hand, woman sometimes allows her affections to do violence to her intellect. Her likes and dislikes are very strong. The delicate, sensitive nature of woman needs to be protected and kept from contact with all that is rough and harsh. Nature teaches that delicacy involves the danger of being easily injured, unless provided with means of protection. A particle of dust would injure the eye or the lungs, while it would not be felt by the hand. There would be as much sense in disregarding the nature of the several parts of the human body as there is in disregarding the nature of the elements of which human society is composed.

It is a great mistake to suppose that women are naturally better and more moral than men. The preponderance of the feelings renders woman a strong sympathetic chord in society; and, when she is placed in favorable circumstances, she is able to overpower sterner man with her attractions. If she has been nurtured and developed by good influences, she will make man better and nobler; if the contrary is true, her power to lead him to ruin is indeed great. She is large-hearted, hence more susceptible of outward impressions than man, and can be more easily influenced to good or evil. The same power which will inspire her with the truest, noblest, and purest purposes, will scarcely move the heart of man. But it is impossible that a person or sex should be so constituted as to be easily led in one direction without a corresponding danger of being led in the other. We have become accustomed to think that women are naturally better than men, because they are so as we generally find them. We also find that they have been under better influences, and less subject to temptation. Whenever they have been placed within the reach of the powers of evil, they have not become moderately bad, but have rushed at once to lowest depths of wickedness and degradation. The facts of history are

sufficient proof that there is no difference in the natural depravity of the sexes, except that their vices are of different kinds. If women remain in their present position, they will continue to exert a great influence for good over men ; but, if they are placed where they are subject to the same temptations as the other sex, they are so quick to learn, that they will exert as strong an influence in another direction. Women, as they are found in the dens of infamy in our cities, give evidence that they are capable of the most revolting forms of wickedness. The surest method of increasing crime and misery is to mingle the sexes indiscriminately in politics.

Notwithstanding what John Stuart Mill says, we consider women good witnesses ; hence, in regard to the characteristics of the sexes, we quote Mrs. Jameson : " We hear it asserted, not seldom by way of compliment to us women, that intellect is of no sex. If this mean that the same faculties of mind are common to men and women, it is true : in any other signification it appears to me false, and the reverse of a compliment. The intellect of woman bears the same relation to that of man as her physical organization : it is inferior in power, and different in kind. That certain women have surpassed certain men in bodily strength or intellectual energy does not

contradict the general principle founded in nature. The essential and invariable distinction appears to me this: in men, the intellectual faculties exist more self-poised and self-directed, more independent of the rest of the character, than we ever find them in women, with whom talent, however predominant, is in a much greater degree modified by the sympathies and moral qualities." (Essay on Portia.)

The position which we have taken in regard to the relative characteristics of the sexes is either true or false. If any one admits that women are in some respects superior to men, it is necessary to grant that men are superior in others; otherwise it will follow that women are, on the whole, superior to men. Perhaps some believe this, but they have not yet made it a part of the creed of the Innovators. If Mill really proves all that he attempts, it would be necessary to conclude that women are superior; for he claims that they *are* in certain qualities, while he endeavors to explain *away* any apparent superiority on the part of men. There has been enough of generalities. If women are adapted to political life as well as men, what are the particular characteristics which fit her for that life, and wherein is the foregoing incorrect? We do not believe that there is a candid person

living who really thinks, that, in all respects, the minds of the sexes are naturally precisely alike. If their minds are unlike, and at the same time equal, there must be inferiority in some qualities combined with superiority in others ; hence a natural unfitness for some duties, while there is an adaptation to others. In other words, man is adapted to one sphere of action, woman to another. There should be no squeamishness on this point ; the Innovators should maintain that the minds of the sexes are exactly alike, or they cannot logically avoid concluding that there is a separate sphere for each sex. At the present time, they claim that woman should occupy any position that man may, not excepting the pulpit.

The Innovators have made a great noise about the "prejudice" of their opponents. If a man, for instance, is charged with *prejudice* against color, he tries to defend himself by asserting that his notions are founded on a law of nature. Now, another man may be called upon to defend a genuine principle of truth, and all that he can fairly be expected to do is to show that it rests upon a law of nature. The former is *prejudiced*, because his belief is founded on something that does not exist ; the latter is not, because he has rational grounds for his

convictions. In regard to the sexes, the Innovators are the ones who are really prejudiced, as they blindly disregard and ridicule a principle that is founded on a law of the Creator.

It cannot be denied that the sentiment is universal, that some qualities are appropriate and becoming when found in one sex, while they are *not* when found in the other. All justly dislike a masculine woman, and hold in contempt an effeminate man. It cannot be said that this originated from any disrespect to the female sex, as the principle is applied unsparingly to both sexes. If the characteristics were ignoble in themselves, they would be odious if found in either sex. If it can be truthfully said that man has a moral nature, and instinctively regards some actions as just and others as unjust, it can be asserted with equal truth that he has an innate idea of the "fitness of things." Incongruity is as displeasing to our minds as discord is to the sense of hearing. If we could not know at once, with a tolerable degree of accuracy, how to adapt means to an end, we should be obliged to waste our strength in countless experiments. We do not care how much of this is intuitive, and how much acquired. We have the principle in our minds, at all events. No reform can succeed which overlooks these primary truths.

John Stuart Mill begs the question on the very title-page of his book, for he *assumes the subjection of women*. How is he to convince his opponents when he assumes in the first part of his argument that the present system “*entirely* subordinates the weaker sex to the stronger”? The italics are ours. At another time we will mention some facts which show that this is not true. Whether true or false, Mill had no right to assume that point without adducing facts to support his theory : this was especially needed in this case, since his assertion is contrary to general opinion. Of course this flaw vitiates all his arguments which are founded on this assumption.

“I consent that established custom, and general feeling, should be deemed conclusive against me, unless that custom and feeling from age to age can be shown to have owed their existence to other causes than their soundness, and to have derived their power from the worse rather than the better parts of human nature.” To counterbalance this presumption, we are informed that men and women have never exchanged places, so that we could decide the question from a comparison of different methods. We grant this ; but the question is whether we have not discovered the truth without this process. A

greater part of the good laws and customs which prevail at the present day have come down to us in the same way. Some principles are so evident that no one ever dared to dispute them. The fact that we have received some wrong customs and laws from our ancestors affords no presumption that any particular one is, even if the opposite theory has never been tried. Mill asserts that "it arose simply from the fact, that, from the very earliest twilight of human society, every woman (owing to the value attached to her by men, combined with her inferiority in muscular strength) was found in a state of bondage to some man. Laws, and systems of polity, always begin by recognizing the relations they find already existing between individuals" (p. 8). Is it not a little curious that Mill dares to make such *positive* statements in regard to the dim past, while he claims that no one has a right to do more than to *conjecture* about what we see and hear? We have no reason to think that woman was in a "state of bondage" as he asserts, although it is probable that her relation to man was something like what it is now. It is probable, that, "in the very earliest twilight of human society," woman occupied the position which God intended she should, as the race had not then gone far from

the course which was marked out for it after the curse.

We are informed that brute force has been a very important element in the history of the world ; and, as men have more physical strength than women, this is said to be the reason why women are in their present position. This is certainly a lame argument, unless there is proof that this force has been used *against* the female sex. If men were ten times as strong as women, it would make no difference, unless that strength was used to crush them. The fact that some barbarous tribes have kept women in subjection by brute force is not sufficient to account for the customs of all nations in every age. The truth is, that, since the age of chivalry, the weakness of woman has been her very best protection, and she may now abuse a man with impunity. It is true that we Americans circulate the story that Englishmen beat their wives ; but this is probably intended for a *take-off* on the gravity of John Bull. Perhaps *some* Englishmen do ; but we are not now dealing with exceptions. There is not the least ground to claim that the superior physical strength of men has any thing to do with the present relation of the sexes.

Mill then gives several reasons why the bond-

age of women would last longer than other forms of slavery. These reasons are very good, but really show that there is no *subjection* about it; as his statements are so many proofs that the relation of the sexes is natural, and that the bonds which unite them are inseparable. It seems absurd for him to speak of the facilities which men have for suppressing an insurrection of women, since they have never manifested a disposition to occupy any other position than that which they now have. This is only *one* of the blunders which he makes from assuming that women are in a state of subjection to men. After speaking of the power of oppressors, and the difficulty of conquering them, he adds, "Some will object, that a comparison cannot fairly be made between the government of the male sex and the forms of unjust power which I have adduced in illustration of it, since these are arbitrary, and the effect of mere usurpation, while it, on the contrary, is natural. But was there ever any domination which did not appear natural to those who possessed it? There was a time when the division of mankind into two classes — a small one of masters and a numerous one of slaves — appeared, even to the most cultivated minds, to be a natural, and the only\* natural, condition of the human race" (p. 20).

The fault of this comparison is, that women themselves regard their condition as natural ; and that never was true of a race of slaves. If only the men considered the present relation of the sexes natural, his illustration might be worth something.

Mill speaks in commendation of the select few women who have sense enough to stand up for their rights, and then adds, “ How many more women there are who silently cherish similar aspirations, no one can possibly know ; but there are abundant tokens how many *would* cherish them, were they not so strenuously taught to repress them as contrary to the proprieties of their sex. It must be remembered, also, that no enslaved class ever asked for complete liberty at once ” (p. 25). If any one should read this two hundred years hence, he would conclude that the women of our age were in as bad a condition as those of Turkey. He would think that they were not allowed to learn enough to be able to read the Bible, but were placed under the charge of men whose duty it was to teach them the respect due to men, and the homage they must pay them at all times ; and that the only freedom of thought was that which “ silently ” passed through their minds. The truth is this : the women are

the teachers of men ; and, as a general rule, all boys and girls receive their most lasting impressions from their mothers and female teachers, who have it in their power to revolutionize the opinions of the world in the course of a single generation ; and they could do it so quietly that men would hardly know how it had been effected.

We have examined the leading points in Mill's argument to the 29th page, where he concludes that "the preceding considerations are amply sufficient to show that custom, however universal it may be, affords in this case no presumption, and ought not to create any prejudice, in favor of the arrangements which place women in social and political subjection to men.

. . . . . For what is the peculiar character of the modern world — the difference which chiefly distinguishes modern institutions, modern social ideas, modern life itself, from those of times long past ? It is, that human beings are no longer born to their place in life, and chained down by an inexorable bond to the place they are born to, but are free to employ their faculties, and such favorable chances as offer, to achieve the lot which may appear to them most desirable. Human society of old was constituted on a very different prin-

ciple. All were born to a fixed social position, and were mostly kept in it by law, or interdicted from any means by which they could emerge from it."

Again: "It is not that all processes are supposed to be equally good, or all persons to be equally qualified for every thing; but that freedom of individual choice is now known to be the only thing which procures the adoption of the best processes, and throws each operation into the hands of those who are best qualified for it. Nobody thinks it necessary to make a law that only a strong-armed man shall be a blacksmith. Freedom and competition suffice to make blacksmiths strong-armed men; because the weak-armed can earn more by engaging in occupations for which they are more fit." (p. 32).

"One thing we may be certain of: that what is contrary to women's nature to do, they never will be made to do by simply giving their nature free play. The anxiety of mankind to interfere in behalf of Nature, for fear lest Nature should not succeed in effecting its purpose, is an altogether unnecessary solicitude. What women by nature cannot do, it is quite superfluous to forbid them from doing" (p. 48). At first, these arguments seem to be

incontrovertible. If they are applied to women as laborers, they are ; and, in fact, there are no laws to hinder women from engaging in nearly every trade and profession that men do. They are kept out of some positions solely by competition, and the fact of the natural adaptability of men to perform some duties better than women. We agree with Mill so far, then, that there should be nothing done to hinder woman's engaging in the same handicrafts as man ; for it has been settled, that these matters regulate themselves, and are *not* subjects for legislation. Yet, if his argument is applied to the *political status* of women, it proves too much. It would lead to the absurd conclusion, that then *no* qualification should be required of voters and office-holders ; so that all persons, of *all ages*, including children, should be allowed to go to the ballot-box on the ground that no harm would come from, "giving their nature free play." Now, it is granted by all, that the question who shall and who shall not take part in government, is a proper subject for legislation, and must be decided on general principles. In regard to female suffrage, the nature and wishes of the *majority* of women must be taken into consideration. Laws are not made for exceptions, as was shown in the introduction.

Notwithstanding Mill's ingenuity and skill in combining truth and error, and ability to make an argument which is good for one purpose *appear* good for another, we do not think that a candid judge of logical reasoning can claim that he has, up to this point, weakened the presumption in favor of the present system, or created any in favor of female suffrage.



## CHAPTER III.

*THE FAMILY.*

**W**E become so familiar with some things which we come in contact with every day, that we do not recognize their importance ; and often are not aware of the part which they perform. Few people have any idea of the value of air and light ; few know any thing of the nature of their own bodies, or the means of keeping them in a healthy condition. It is not so strange, then, that the relation which the family bears to government and society has been so imperfectly understood by the Innovators. Some philosophers get so wise, that they overlook commonplace matters, and undertake to remove the evils of society by some new and marvellous method, when they have no knowledge of the cause of the evil and nature of the remedy needed.

The discussion in regard to female suffrage and female labor has been conducted, for the most

part, on the supposition that society and government are based upon the individuals of which they are composed; when, in fact, they are based upon the families. It is true that we reckon by population in some matters; but this is practically the same thing where it is used: while a great majority of the laws and customs of the present time recognize the family as a basis in such a way, that it cannot have the same effect as it would to go back to the individual.

It is, perhaps, true, that society has been formed and government organized, without any *conscious* recognition of the real importance and influence of the family, as the existing circumstances were generally provided for without analyzing them into their simple elements. By a careful examination of the facts, it will be found that laws and customs generally recognize the *unity* of the family, and regard its interests first, and those of the individual second. We shall try to show that this is as the Creator intended; hence right, and necessary to our prosperity. The Innovators are doing all in their power to destroy the unity of the family, place the individual above it, and degrade this divine institution to the level of a mere partnership, to be dissolved at pleasure. Perhaps

they do not all wish or intend to bring about this result ; but we may be able to show that the measures which they advocate have that tendency. If the family should be swept out of existence, and society and government remodelled without it, there would be a necessity of changing the greater part of our customs and laws.

It is written, “ And Adam said, ‘ This *is* now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh : she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of man. Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother and shall cleave unto his wife ; and they shall be one flesh.’ ” From the time that God established the family, and sanctified its unity in the garden of Eden, to the present, in all civilized countries its unity has been recognized, and more or less protected. Where barbarism has been the strongest, there the family relation has been the most desecrated. As the law recognizes the family as one, of course there can be but one representative ; and as the husband is the natural protector of the wife, and performs the greater part of the duties which bring the family in contact with the rest of the world, there is a natural fitness in regarding him as the head, or representative, of this institution.

Some think that the fact that the law supposes the wife to be merged in the husband, having lost her own identity, is a relic of barbarism, and unjust to the wife. The truth is this: there is no method of regarding the husband and wife as one, without adopting this or some similar legal fiction. As, in the great majority of families, the husband and wife are ordinarily of one mind, they are supposed to be agreed, as exceptions cannot be recognized. In ordinary affairs, the wife can make purchases, and the husband is obliged to pay her bills. As he has charge of most of the business concerns, he can conduct them legally without her consent. This is an advantage to her as well as to him; because it would cause them much trouble, if both were obliged to assent to every business transaction to make it legal. In important transactions, however, when any abuse, in exceptional cases, would cause great trouble and distress, the assent of both is required. We speak of law as it generally prevails in the United States.

When they are regarded as individuals, justice demands that they be treated alike; that no advantage be given to the one, which is not to the other. A reason which is sufficient for a divorce for one, should be for the

other. Any safeguard against abuse, which is granted the wife, should be granted the husband. In case of death, there should be a uniform law in regard to the property. But, in ordinary cases, the fact that the husband is regarded as the head of the family, and the wife is supposed to have lost her individuality, is as favorable to one as the other. Any noisy declamation against it is a mere *quibble*, as a double meaning can be attached to the language. The law of our Creator, and the best practice in all countries, demand that husband and wife be recognized as one, by some construction of language. Any legal recognition of their separate interests in ordinary matters must have a tendency to introduce discord, and degrade this divine institution to the semblance of a temporary partnership.

The laws of several States which make provision for the wife, so that she can own property in her own name, were intended to relieve such as had bad husbands, but have now come to be adopted quite generally where there is no necessity for them. If a man wishes to cheat his creditors, he puts his property into his wife's hands, and *fails* (?). This is a good illustration of the danger there is in recognizing and providing for exceptional cases by legislation.

Evils come in when we do not expect them. We believe that there have been a hundred wronged and reduced to want by these laws, where there has been one woman relieved. In framing laws, we must protect people from those evils which come indirectly, as well as the more immediate. It must be remembered, that there are many more husbands and wives who will plot together to wrong others, than there are who will injure each other.

English common law is, in some respects, unjust to the wife. In our country, many changes have been introduced. Some of them have removed small evils, and introduced greater. The most of these laws are based upon the supposition that husband and wife are two, not one. We believe that the common law should be modified so that the wife would have as good a right to property as the husband; but this can be done by giving them a common, not separate interests. Probably the best method of doing justice to both would be to make the individual property of each common to both after marriage. There could not be much chance for abuse, if the signature of both was required to make a legal transfer of real estate, and each was allowed to dispose of personal property without the consent of the other.

Perhaps it would be well for the law to regard as theft or embezzlement any disposal of personal property when one of the parties absconds with the proceeds of the sale. If a husband or wife kept any kind of goods for sale, the laws could be so framed as to prevent the disposal of them by the other, with the intent of using the proceeds for selfish purposes. No law can be so carefully framed as to hinder crime and injustice entirely. Laws that are for the general good cannot provide perfect security for exceptional cases; yet they should be based upon broad, general principles. The Innovators have procured many changes by going before committees, and harping upon some story of wrong done, which may be true, but a specimen of cases which are very rare.

The good of the masses cannot be provided for, unless the unity and integrity of the family be preserved. If, in times past, the husband has had too much power, and his separate interests have been regarded, the evil is only aggravated by giving the wife a motive to contend with him, and look out for *her* individual interests. The true method of correcting this is to give the family one common interest, and make it impossible for the husband to injure the wife without harming himself, and *vice versa*.

Yet it will not be best to make too many rules and regulations for the family, as the majority can manage their own affairs better than legislatures. It must be remembered that the vast majority of husbands and wives are united in all matters that come before the law; and on that account it would be wrong to frame laws solely to provide for the contingencies of a minority. It must also be remembered that the husband generally conducts the business of the family, and provides the means of support; while the wife has charge of the household, and applies the husband's earnings to their common wants. His wages are not simply payment from the capitalist for his work, but for his wife's also. The money that he earns belongs to both.

Doubtless the changes that have been made in the laws of some States were undertaken with good motives, and perhaps there have been some beneficial results; but there have been evil results also. We sympathize with those who wished to relieve women from the power of unjust legislation; yet we think the good could have been accomplished without destroying the unity of the family. We learn from Mrs. Dall that the laws have been *changed* in nineteen States. The extent of *improvement* we have

not ascertained. It is our object to call the attention of the public to a few facts, that the people of each State may examine their own laws. As a proof of the *spirit* which animates some of these reformers (?), we quote the following from Mrs. Dall's lecture on "The United-States Law." "If married, and over the age of eighteen years, a woman in Illinois may, *in spite* of her husband, devise her real estate, and bequeath her personal estate, to any one forever." The Innovators complain justly of any law that enables the husband to dispose of his property "*in spite*" of his wife; but, instead of removing this evil, they introduce another to balance it. Mrs. D. adds, "The wife *may* administer on her husband's estate, in preference to all others, if she apply within sixty days. On her husband's death, she inherits one-half of his real estate in fee-simple absolute, and the whole of his personal estate, with her rights of dower in addition." This law, in connection with others, does not establish impartiality, but is *more* favorable to the wife than to the husband.

In the State of New York, the wife can own and dispose of property in her own name, and devise it by will without her husband's consent, while he is obliged to support her and the

children, and can *not* dispose of all his property by will, without her consent, even if she is worth a million of her own, on which he has no claim. In regard to these laws, Pomeroy has the following, in his "Introduction to Municipal Law : " —

" These several provisions plainly have the effect to render marriage a mere union for the production and management of children. As to their other legal relations, the husband and wife have not even the united interests of a partnership ; for in that, the several partners embark their property together, and each is bound to promote the advantage of the whole, and to increase the common fund, which is to be divided among them. But the family in New York has no such community of interests. The husband is still the nominal head of the household ; he determines their domicil ; he must provide for their maintenance : but one of the greatest safeguards to a complete unity of sentiments, of hopes, of plans, and of labors, is utterly destroyed."

Other States have laws of a similar tendency. On this account, we do not suppose that we are all going to ruin, as there are many influences so strong, that the family will always be, in some sense, *one*, in spite of bad

laws ; but it is true that the influence of such laws is evil, and tends to introduce discord into the family. If an examination could be made, we do not hesitate to venture the assertion, that the fact that the husband and wife own property separately has caused trouble and discord in five families, where it has been a blessing to one. There is and can be nothing worse in a family than "*yours*" and "*mine* :" all should be "*ours*." God's law makes husband and wife one ; and any violation of this principle brings with it the punishment, in the shape of discord and dissatisfaction.

These false notions of the family relation have led to loose ideas of divorce ; so that in some States we have had the ridiculous farce of marrying, unmarrying and remarrying the same couple, and all within one or two years. If we are not mistaken, we have read of one case of this kind, in which this process was completed within a few months. A marriage relation that is degraded by such laws and customs seems but one grade above concubinage. If both parties understand that their union is to be for life, the number of rash and unhappy marriages will be greatly decreased in a few years. And in regard to property, is it not evident, that, if a woman who has a hun-

dred thousand dollars, has not confidence enough in a man to make him a sharer of her property, she ought not to marry him ? The same may be said in regard to a man. These contracts, by which the parties are half married and half single, are fruitful of evil, and tend to desecrate the marriage relation, which ought to be held sacred.

The Innovators are not satisfied with having levelled the family thus far, but wish to interfere with its unity by sending two representatives to the ballot-box, instead of one. They are shrewd enough not to put the question to the public in this way ; but base their arguments on the separate rights of *men* and *women*, and disregard the fact that the majority of these are husbands and wives, and then form one class instead of two. But some one objects, by saying that all *men* above the age of twenty-one are allowed to vote, whether married or not. Now, it is evident that there are so many chance circumstances connected with the time of a man's marriage, that it would be better for government to consider all as heads of families, after they have reached a certain age. Some men have property to support a wife at twenty-one ; others are obliged to wait until they can earn it ; and there are other circumstances to

interfere. As law does not take notice of exceptions, it recognizes all as real or prospective husbands at the age of twenty-one. This age has certainly not been chosen because men have not *intelligence* enough to vote when younger. If that was the only qualification, the age of fifteen or sixteen would be sufficient. The Innovators have made a great noise, on the supposition that women could not vote on account of a lack of knowledge. To be consistent they ought to make common cause with all boys who have the necessary intelligence. From the frequency with which the term "*householder*" is used in English law, it is evident that we arrived at our present state of popular suffrage from merely increasing the number of voters, so that now *all* heads of families take part in government. There is another important fact: in England and some other countries, widows and unmarried householders have been allowed to vote; but, until recently, no one has been so wise as to discover the propriety of sending two representatives from the same family. Our Saviour took for granted that all could see the absurdity of *dividing* a house. If it is desirable to abolish this time-honored institution called the family, then there is consistency in individual representation. If the

family is one as the United-States Government is, then it would be as absurd to send two representatives to the polls, as it would be to send two ministers to Great Britain to act on their individual responsibilities.

The wisdom of the Creator is seen in the method he has taken to make the family united and harmonious. If he had made man and woman alike, union would have been almost impossible. This principle is so well known, that it has become a proverb, that two persons who are alike cannot agree. When a person is conscious of a lack of any quality, that quality seems the most desirable possession in the world, and there is an irresistible inclination towards any one who possesses it. The wife, conscious of inferiority in strength, takes delight in clinging to the strong, rough nature of her husband. She loves to lean on his arm for support, and look to him for protection. *To her*, manly strength seems to be the noblest and most desirable quality in the world. The husband, aware that he is made of coarser material than woman, is attracted by her gentle, delicate nature, and warm, sympathetic heart, while her grace and refinement seem *to him* qualities superior to all others. He looks at other men, and wonders what there is in them which

attracts women, as he can see nothing in their natures which he longs to obtain. Of course, it is not desirable that husband and wife should stand on different planes, so that the mind of one is so far above the other that there is no point of contact ; but if their minds are on the same level, the *blending* of these diverse characteristics produces a union which cannot be easily sundered, and one that is fruitful of the highest intellectual enjoyment to both parties. If men and women were alike, this world would resemble the monotonous, desolate plain where there is a superabundance of a certain kind of equality. This must be the paradise of fools, so much talked about : a very good place, perhaps, yet no one ought to be censured for *not* hankering for the innovation.

When two persons are placed together with equal shares of the same kind of power, a conflict is almost inevitable. In partnership business, unless each is conscious that the other has a superior talent for some duties, there is a probability of a dissolution, unless there are powerful counteracting influences. As far as our observation goes, we should think that partnerships do not last five years, on the average, except where the duties are divided, so that there is but little chance for conflicting

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views. Where this is not the case, a diversity of character and capacity is necessary to permanence. In the family, the husband has that kind of power which is the prerogative of superior strength ; the wife, that which belongs to superior tenderness, refinement, and vivacity. On account of this difference, it is not difficult for one to prevail without a conflict with the other. In the world, the power of man is more *apparent* than that of woman, as his influence is exerted directly upon the public ; but there is a potent influence which moves the man, and moulds, to a great extent, his opinions. The social influence of woman has often been so great as to change the course of empires. This has not always been in the form of a depraved mistress. The importance of the power which Josephine exerted over Napoleon for good is well known. Other instances of a similar nature might be mentioned. Although man is the head of the family, and represents it in public, yet, within the family-circle, everybody knows that the wife has and uses as much power as he does. A wife that is *ruled* and *governed* is as rarely seen as a husband who is completely and meekly under the control of his wife. Both characters can be found in almost any community. At the present time the majority of

families are governed by a true principle. The wife takes charge of and governs in all matters where she has a natural superiority : the husband has the superintendence of all concerns for which he is naturally better adapted than the wife.

Those who are now so earnest in demanding that women be placed on the same footing as men, to be consistent should demand that women be deprived of their social supremacy, and be placed on an equality with men. A woman now attends to her own affairs, and conducts them in such a manner as she thinks best, although her husband may have as much interest in what she does as she has. He attends to his business without consulting her, although she is interested in his progress. In matters of importance, or when there is any thing to be done out of the ordinary course, they consult each other, and form their plans in concert.

Mill sometimes agrees with public opinion. On the division of labor, he writes as follows : " When the support of the family depends, not on property, but on earnings, the common arrangement, by which the man earns the income and the wife superintends the domestic expenditure, seems to me in general the most

suitable division of labor between the two persons. If, in addition to the physical suffering of bearing children, and the whole responsibility of their care and education in early years, the wife undertakes the careful and economical application of the husband's earnings to the general comfort of the family, she takes not only her fair share, but usually the larger share, of the bodily and mental exertion required by their joint existence. If she undertakes any additional portion, it seldom relieves her from this, but only prevents her from performing it properly. The care which she is herself disabled from taking of the children and the household, nobody else takes; those of the children who do not die, grow up as they best can, and the management of the household is likely to be so bad, as even in point of economy to be a great drawback from the value of the wife's earnings. In an otherwise just state of things, it is not, therefore, I think, a desirable custom, that the wife should contribute by her labor to the income of the family" (pp. 87, 88).

All know that this is the case in a majority of families, and that it is only the minority of women who could engage in masculine duties, if they wished. We desire to have the reader

keep in mind two important facts: first, that the great majority of women, *from choice*, sooner or later become wives and have charge of a household; second, that laws are made for the masses, not the exceptions, and that society, in all its complications, becomes adapted to the circumstances of the majority, so that the minority must always labor under *some* disadvantages. The wisest and most humane nation cannot possibly make it otherwise. All that can justly be expected is, that the disadvantages of the exceptions be made as small as possible consistent with the good of the whole. In respect to wages and any thing that is controlled by the laws of political economy, or the wants of the public, of any kind, laws and personal opinions are of no avail. The path in which the masses travel, always has been and always will be smoother and freer from obstacles than any other. We will examine this subject more at length when we come to the subject of female labor.

“The general opinion of men is supposed to be, that the natural vocation of a woman is that of a wife and mother. I say, is supposed to be; because, judging from acts, from the whole of the present constitution of society, one might infer that their opinion was the direct

contrary. They might be supposed to think that the alleged natural vocation of women was of all things the most repugnant to their nature; insomuch that if they are free to do any thing else,—if any other means of living, or occupation of their time and faculties, is open, which has any chance of appearing desirable to them,—there will not be enough of them who will be willing to accept the condition said to be natural to them. If this is the real opinion of men in general, it would be well that it should be spoken out. I should like to hear somebody openly enunciating the doctrine (it is already implied in much that is written on the subject). ‘It is necessary to society that women should marry and produce children. They will not do so unless they are compelled. Therefore it is necessary to compel them.’ The merits of the case would then be clearly defined. It would be exactly that of the slaveholders of South Carolina and Louisiana” (pp. 49, 50).

Does anybody think this a fair statement of the case? It is not “the general opinion of men” merely, but of *women*, that “the natural vocation of a woman is that of a wife and mother.” If there are any who wish to go out of the beaten path, they are at liberty to do so;

but, if they find more difficulties and obstacles than those who glide along with the current, it is useless and unreasonable to say that men designedly place these in their way. Perhaps the condition of the minority might be made better than it is now ; but the circumstances of the majority will always be better than those of the few. Where the demand is greatest, the supply will be also. Mill knows as well as anybody that there is no combination in society to practically force women to marry. Society is based upon the family, and all its machinery is arranged accordingly. It is not good for man or woman to be alone : but, where circumstances make it necessary, there are greater obstacles in a woman's path than in a man's, because the majority of men are obliged to earn money enough to support a wife and children, and the way is open to them ; hence there is more than a fair chance for a man to support himself. As the few employments that women are adapted to engage in, without special training, are crowded, her wages are low, and must always remain so. If women, as a general rule, did not marry, but engaged in some employment, in the same manner that men do, in the course of time they would have a better chance as laborers ; but that can never

be. Women, as well as men, help bring about these circumstances against which Mill raises an unreasonable complaint. The truth is this: God intended both sexes for marriage, and adapted their natures accordingly. He intended that man should earn the bread for the family, and has made the circumstances such that he can support not only himself, but a wife and children. It is evident that he did not intend that woman should compete with man in the more important kinds of labor, yet she can earn enough to support herself. We must ask the reader to suspend judgment until the subject of labor is discussed.

The real enemies of those women who are obliged to labor for a living, under disadvantages, are those who are degrading the marriage relation in the eyes of the people, and leading some to think that single life is better; for such ideas tend to make this minority larger, so that there is a greater number striving for the same positions, and many are obliged to live on what belongs to a few. There are some women who are going through the land, not lecturing, but *scolding*, and doing all in their power to make it appear contemptible for a woman to become a mother. When a lady (?) compares a mother to a "stock animal," is she

employing the best method of elevating her sex? Is she not slandering her own mother, by exhibiting the kind of "stock" which she bore? There is another fact: since *some* of the Innovators (we are glad that a part of them are above such detestable ideas) have been spreading their notions of marriage through the land, the crime of murdering newly-born or unborn infants has increased. We cannot prove that the Innovators are responsible for the increase of this evil; but it is easy to see how their exaggerated statements might, and probably would, lead to such results.

If a woman should read or hear these statements, which are generally intended to be heart-rending, and be at the same time worrying and dreading the pains of child-bearing, she would probably allow her imagination to depict the lot of woman as something horrible, and she would think that the whole was unjust: hence she would try to justify herself in *using any means* to escape a portion of these evils. The Innovators have long enough accused others of causing evils, which they have not helped remove, but have aggravated. We do not know that their teachings have helped increase the evil to which we have alluded, but the facts make it seem probable. Low wages

cannot account for such crimes in rich families.

The whole tendency of this whining, scolding, and complaining is bad. Every evil that falls to the lot of woman has been attributed to her present position, even when there is not a particle of evidence to sustain such assertions. When such ideas have been spread, they have not convinced the majority of good, sensible women, and made them advocates of female suffrage; but the class of whiners and scolders have taken courage to complain louder and make more noise about their troubles. Some have obtained the idea that they are behind the age, if they meet those evils which cannot be avoided, with the noble spirit of a true woman. Instead of trying to overcome calamities by rational means, they sit and sigh for the time when woman will be elevated! They ascribe troubles to the present condition of their sex, when the cause of them is in their own minds, or is inseparable from the present existence of the human race. We have not one word to say against those women like M. C. A., who favor female suffrage. They are far above any thing of the nature that we have been describing. To such we can only say, we think you are mistaken, and wish you were in better

company. Some of those who favor female suffrage are as true women as ever breathed. They have no mean and sordid notion of a woman's duties. Men and women should shrink from the performance of none of the offices which God has imposed upon them. Trouble may sometimes be avoided ; but when it cannot be, honorably, there should be no shrinking.

“ For every evil under the sun,  
There is a remedy, or there's none.  
If there is one, try and find it :  
If there isn't, never mind it.”

It is the duty of the husband to provide a comfortable home for the family, and procure the means of support, that the wife may have an opportunity to devote her time and energies to the internal prosperity of the household. Society generally condemns the man that does not provide money enough before marriage to meet any emergency. The fact that poor men sometimes marry rich women has nothing to do with the general principle. Probably some of the unreasonable changes in the laws were secured by harping about these exceptional cases, and discarding the unity of the family. It is the duty of the husband to see that his wife and children are protected in their lives,

liberties, and the pursuit of happiness. If these blessings cannot be secured by peaceable measures, he is in duty bound to take up arms for their defence. The same principle that makes the husband the protector in time of war, makes him such in time of peace. Political life differs from war not so much in nature as in degree. Women are naturally more timid than men, although there are exceptions. Bravery is a virtue which we have no right to demand of women: hence we owe them double honor when they bravely perform such service as they did during the late war. It is true that women have the same right to the blessings of liberty that men have; but this is not all: they also have a *right* to expect that their husbands will provide such a government that these blessings will be secured. On the same principle that the husband provides a house and clothing for the physical comfort of his family, he provides money to support schools and government, and performs the duties of a voter, that his family may be secure in their intellectual and moral well-being.

The duties of the wife correspond with her nature. They are more numerous than the husband's, but not as rough. She requires less strength, but greater agility. The arrange-

ment and disposal of the household *belong* to her, and no man has any right to interfere with her here. We will join with the Innovators in condemning any custom which interferes with woman's supremacy in her own house or in society. Woman generally is and should be regarded as above man, in all matters where she has superior natural endowments. The equality of power between the sexes does not and cannot properly consist in giving each an equal share in the direction of all matters ; but each has, and should have, the charge and control of those affairs for which he or she has a superior natural capacity. In some positions he is first, and she second ; in others she is first, and he second. In the care of young children, no man, however kind-hearted, can fill the mother's place. He is too slow and clumsy to take care of them, even if he could perceive and appreciate their wants as quickly, which he cannot do. Severe manual labor, or contact with the rough side of the world, would tend to make a woman unfit for a mother's duties, while she would be an inferior sort of a man. Who can believe that God intends that tenderness and delicacy should be used for the same purposes as strength and vigor ? The fact that the woman bears the children is a strong proof

that she was not intended to take part in the rougher scenes of life.

No law can settle the question as to which shall govern. The law must suppose that they are of one mind, and consider the will of either as the will of both. A safeguard can be provided against abuses. If both are required to sign any kind of deed, the real estate is so protected that it cannot be squandered. Under existing laws, we have known instances where an injunction has been served on a husband to prevent his spending the personal property. There may be special remedies for unusual cases, yet the laws should not be made to discommode the transaction of common business, as this would injure both husband and wife. We do not think that there is any injustice in considering the husband the head of the family, and endowed with power to use the common fund as he thinks best. The wife should have the same chance. In the absence of proof to the contrary, one is supposed to agree with the other. Make the family one before the world, and allow it to arrange its own internal affairs. At one time the opinion of the wife will prevail: at another, that of the husband. It always has been so, and probably always will be. It cannot be asserted that the present division of power

and duties between the sexes has been made by men, since the majority of women are not willing that there should be any material change. Women are satisfied with their power as queens. In society, the man that treats a woman no better than he would a fellow-man is considered a barbarian. Here woman is first, and every man is bound to pay her homage. Everywhere he is obliged to give her the best place: he must give up his seat, or do any thing for her accommodation.

The attraction which exists between the sexes is so strong, that their opinions can never vary widely. The bond of conjugal love is stronger than all influences combined. Disturbing causes sometimes produce slight jars; yet whenever any person outside of the family injures either, the strength of attachment between husband and wife is at once apparent. Those who suppose that it will ever be possible to persuade the majority of husbands and wives to act in opposition to or independent of each other, in politics or any thing else, are greatly mistaken. This, however, is true: by carrying out the measures of the Innovators, the amount of discord and misery in family circles would be greatly increased, and the next generation made much worse than the present. There can never be

any method devised for the rearing of children, equal to that which makes their own parents their guides and protectors: hence the necessity of preserving the unity and harmony of the family. The children form so strong a connecting link, that a family separation is sometimes horrible. Both parents love to watch over the child during its tender years, and both take pride in watching their children as they approach manhood or womanhood. "A wise son maketh a glad father; but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother." The parents love to labor together for the good of their children. They rejoice together when they prosper, and weep together when they are overtaken by calamity. The very existence of a child is proof of the unity of the family, so strong that it cannot be denied.

Some people take delight in trying to make young people believe that the marriage relation is the cause of all trouble. They will point to this family and that family, and speak of some kind of trouble which each has experienced. They talk as though the unmarried never had any troubles. We all know that this is a world of sin and suffering, and everybody *ought* to know that unalloyed happiness cannot be attained in any relation. No person who is

conversant with the world can truthfully deny, that married people, on the average, are happier than those who are not. The troubles and trials of parents are of one kind ; of those who have no children, of another. A person may avoid one evil by accepting a worse. The world is dark, dreary, and desolate to those who make it such ; while it is pleasant, cheerful, and abounding with good things, for those who look upon the bright side of life.

Mill is sometimes quite candid when he has not a special point to prove, yet he changes his mind when it is convenient. On page 83, he says, "I readily admit (and it is the very foundation of my hopes) that numbers of married people, even under the present law (in the higher classes of England probably a great majority), live in the spirit of a just law of equality. Laws never would be improved, if there were not numerous persons whose moral sentiments are better than existing laws." Yet on page 91, when he wishes to sharpen an argument, he writes, "I believe that their disabilities elsewhere are only clung to in order to maintain their subordination in domestic life ; because the generality of the male sex cannot yet tolerate the idea of living with an equal. Were it not for that, I think that almost every

one, in the existing state of opinion in politics and political economy, would admit the injustice of excluding half the human race from the greater number of lucrative occupations, and from almost all high social functions." By trying to carry his point by this method of proof, he tacitly admits that society is supposed to be organized on a just principle, unless it can be shown that some portion of the community has a selfish or corrupt motive in making it otherwise. It will be necessary to prove that one or both of the sexes have such a motive, or else we must conclude that the present relation of the sexes is natural. We hardly think that the Innovators would ascribe such a design to woman, the oppressed sex, as they claim. Men must be supposed innocent of such wicked intentions until proved guilty: hence the burden of proof rests on their accusers. It is not enough to say that an inordinate desire for power would be a sufficient motive: there must be proof that there *is* such a desire among the *majority* of men at the present time. The Innovators have only shown that there is such a spirit existing in the breasts of a *few* men. If women desire any thing, they usually invent some means to carry their point. Are not the majority of men willing to acquiesce

in their wives' wishes, and do they not often go contrary to their own judgment for the sake of pleasing their wives? No one has a right to say that they would not grant female suffrage until a majority of women desire it. Mill's own admission, in the first passage, is confirmatory of our opinion. As there is no proof to counteract this presumption, which Mill tacitly admits, we have a right to say that the present relation of the sexes is *natural*. Whenever man has wronged woman, there is abundance of proof that he did not yield to her wishes, but followed the bent of his own will. If, in modern times, men have treated women with justice on all points of law where they have been asked by any considerable part of the women to do so, it is fair to presume that they have no inordinate desire of power. We have seen already that they have changed some of the laws, so that they are *more* favorable to women than to men.

Mill is right when he says, "We know that the bad propensities of human nature are only kept within bounds where they are allowed no scope for their indulgence." On this ground, we claim that the ideas which the Innovators have promulgated in regard to marriage have discouraged some from entering that relation

and increased the number of single persons ; hence have increased the probability of immorality. We know that there are men and women who can resist temptation ; but, in judging of masses, we must take the average, and reason from probabilities. The promiscuous mingling of the sexes in employment must greatly increase the probability of immorality.

“ Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,  
As, to be hated, needs but to be seen :  
Yet, seen too oft, familiar with her face,  
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.”

We cannot close this chapter better than by quoting Pomeroy's remarks on the marriage relation : “ The idea of marriage — of the mutual choice of each other by one man and one woman, to unite and form one separate family, and be the parents of children who are to be their special care, and are to perpetuate their name — seems to be as naturally implanted in the human race as the idea of language or of religion. The earliest record, which leads us back to the very birth of mankind, tells of marriage from the beginning ; and the histories of all peoples who have a history disclose its existence. Often it has been debased

from its pure ideal, and its simplicity and beauty marred and almost destroyed, by the prevalence of concubinage and polygamy ; but, still, no nation has sunk so low, has so entirely lost the original divine life breathed into humanity, as to be without some approach to that personal choice and separation of two individuals of opposite sex from all others, which constitutes this relation. And among those peoples where civilization has made the most progress, whether in ancient or modern times, and especially where the pure morality of the Christian religion has been felt in moulding the institutions and laws, we shall find the marriage-tie the strongest, the separation of husband and wife from all others the most complete, the unity of the family the most perfect."



## CHAPTER IV.

## THE PRINCIPLE INVOLVED IN POPULAR SUFFRAGE.

**W**HEN people discovered the truth, that the right of governing did not belong to one person or to one class, but to one individual as much as another, they at once accepted another conclusion, without any reason for so doing; viz., that the people were the *ultimate* source of law, and that there was no higher authority. A little reflection will convince a candid man of the absurdity of this conclusion. It is evident that the majority cannot make it *right* to enslave the minority, even if they make laws to that effect. A nation of pirates might make laws legalizing theft, perjury, adultery, and murder; yet it would not be right. The people of the United States have enacted unjust laws, and there are many wicked laws in force in this country now; yet they are just as wrong as though enforced by a single despot.

We are told that there is a law within us which declares some acts just, and others unjust. This is true; but the human conscience is often so seared and blighted by sin, and the human mind so perverted by wicked motives, that it cannot always be trusted to render a judgment according to the original law implanted in the human mind. But who framed the human mind, and gave it this law to which we have referred? There must be something back of this. Every one but the atheist must conclude, then, that God is the ultimate source of *all* law. The best government, then, is that which embodies the law of God the most perfectly. The statement that a certain condition is natural, is only another method of stating that it accords with a law of the Creator. This law can be ascertained, to a certain extent, from the works of nature and the constitution of the human mind; but that mind has been so perverted by sin, that we need something more. We have just what is needed in the revealed will of our Maker. In the Bible, the law of God is clearly defined. Those who discard this, in the formation of governments, reap the fruit of their self-reliance in being obliged to discover truth, by costly and dangerous experiments, which is clearly revealed in the Bible.

We have already felt how terrible is the vengeance of a jealous God, who demands allegiance of all nations, and obedience to his revealed will. A destructive war has taught us that we are accountable to a higher power; yet we still cling to the atheistic principle upon which our constitution is based. The unnatural doctrines of the Innovators come logically from the declared principle that there is nothing higher than "we the people." What the Bible teaches on this subject we will show in another chapter.

It is true, that the will of *the people* is of more importance, and should be considered as of more weight, than that of a king or class of nobles; yet government *derives* its authority and *just* power from the great Lawgiver.

Government should be an embodiment of the higher law. The *form* of government is a matter of expediency. If one man would make better laws, and administer them better, than a hundred, or any other number, it would be *expedient* to place the power in his hands; but no man *is born* with any natural right to rule others. The problem to be solved is, in what way can laws be made and administered so that the law of God will be the most nearly carried out? Perfection is impossible; yet it is

desirable to get as near it as practicable. If a government could be secured which would carry out the law of God to perfection, the highest good of the people would then be attained. Although there will be some evils in any government, yet, by a careful examination of fundamental principles, many may be eliminated.

It is true, that the law of our Creator has been imprinted on our souls; and men, from a sense of justice, will now do what is right, when wicked motives do not lead them astray. There are two conflicting powers in every mind. In most men, the influence of selfishness is so strong, that, when power is placed in their hands, and there is no authority to call their decisions in question, they will pervert it, more or less, to the purposes of self-aggrandizement, and that of their friends. An absolute monarch, who has no fear of losing his throne, probably wrongs the people in many respects; and, if he is a wicked man, he can cause almost unlimited suffering. People who allow one man to rule run great risks, as their happiness often depends upon caprice. Men will try to satisfy their consciences by trivial excuses. If the power is placed in the hands of a large body of men, who hold it for life, they will usually pervert

justice, more or less, and make laws which are more favorable to themselves than to other classes. If some classes are allowed *more* power than others, they will usually consider any measure just which is for their advantage. If all classes and all sections of a country, ruled by one nation, are allowed an equal share in government, the interests of one class or section will counteract those of another; and the chances of perverting justice by selfish motives are reduced to a minimum. There is a probability, amounting almost to certainty, that the good of the majority will be secured, so far as men can learn what that is; and, under ordinary circumstances, justice will be done to all: yet the minority will sometimes be seriously wronged. This system of allowing all classes to take part in government has serious faults; yet it is the best which can be adopted. It matters not, that other nations can point out some evils in our system, which do not exist in theirs, so long as we can show that the aggregate amount of good results is greater, and of evil less, under our form of government than under any other.

But let us examine this subject, and see to what extent we have carried popular suffrage, and ascertain how we arrived at our present

stand-point. The founders of our government were well acquainted with the history of England. From the days of King John to the time of George III., there had been a constant struggle on the part of the people to limit the power of the crown. At some periods, the strife was between the nobility and the throne : at others, between the people of the so-called lower classes and the nobility. There were no natural divisions, but the whole machinery was artificial. There had been, and has since been, a constant strife between the various classes. Our forefathers resolved to discard all artificial distinctions. They did not give all persons a share in government, but *all classes*; so that there should not be one class to rule, while there was another, with conflicting interests, without representation. They did not make all persons, who had sufficient intelligence, voters ; but they went back until they found a *natural* division in society,—the family,—and made the head of every family a voter. These constituted about one-seventh of the whole population. They did not even consider all the males of sufficient intelligence, voters. If they had acted on this principle, they would have given all men the right of suffrage on reaching the age of fifteen or sixteen. As the number

of voters is about equal to the number of families, and as there is no other principle on which the present system of voting can be accounted for, we have a right to consider it as a fact, that suffrage, as it exists in the United States, is based on the principle that each family should be allowed one representative. It is true that this principle has not been written down in so many words in our constitution, and we are not aware that it is in any of our laws; yet this, like most other fundamental principles, was the outgrowth of the constitution of society on natural principles. Our forefathers accepted this great fundamental principle, as it were, unconsciously. Perhaps a majority of them had never examined this matter by itself. It does not matter so much how we arrived at the present position, as it does whether it is a good basis for government. Is there any better? and is there any valid objection to this?

Government is a representative system, from necessity. The masses cannot frame laws, but must select a few to do this for them. It is desirable to have voters enough to equally and fairly represent all classes. Any thing beyond this is useless and troublesome. Now, do men and women form two distinct classes,

with antagonistic interests ? It is certain that the Innovators are doing all in their power to make them such ; yet the bond of union between the sexes is so strong, that they have made but little progress in the separation. A few women scold, and cry out that men are their oppressors ; yet the majority move along undisturbed by such assertions, as they know them to be untrue. It is true, however, that there is a minority of men who wrong and slander women ; and there is an equal number of women who either abuse their husbands at home, or publicly calumniate the male sex. We do not think the employments of either sex are so limited, that they must needs busy themselves in traducing and ridiculing each other. Notwithstanding these exceptions in both sexes, it is true that they are more firmly united than different portions of the same sex. Men often war with each other ; yet we have no reliable account of any general conflict between the sexes, or any desire for one, until recently. If every woman were obliged to accept any man who offered himself, there would be a ground for complaint ; but, as it is, she can select such a man as she desires to protect her in her rights, and represent her and her future children at the ballot-box. It is not a remarkable thing

for a woman to reject a man on account of his politics. It is the woman's fault if she does not study all points of a man's character before accepting him. Before marriage, both parties ought to be satisfied that they will be *one* on all matters of importance. Certainly, if they differ on any important subject, they ought to agree not to contend about it. Independent political action is not consistent with the unity of the family. We do not suppose it would produce any *horrible* result; but, so far as any result would be produced, it would be evil. It is very desirable that husband and wife belong to the same church; yet, when they do not, there is no act on the part of one which is directly hostile to that of the other. In religion, representative belief is impossible. No wife can delegate to her husband the power to perform her religious duties, for this is an individual matter. We see no reason why both sexes should not vote in the church, if they wish to. Perhaps it may sometimes be the duty of women to vote on church-matters. Nor do we see any reason why a young man or young woman, sixteen or seventeen years of age, should not vote. Any person who has intelligence enough to make a profession of religion can vote on the same ground. The

reasons why children should be subject to their parents, in the state, until they reach the age of twenty-one, do not exist in the church. We consider it tyranny for a parent to control the religious belief of a son or daughter, while we allow them the profits of their labor.

There is not the least ground to sustain the assumption of the Innovators, that the sexes form two classes with opposite interests. They *presume* this in most of their arguments. As far as the subject of labor is concerned, political economists have proved that legislation is worse than useless, as every thing of this kind must yield to the invincible laws of political economy. When the laws are unjust to woman, men have evinced not only a willingness to change them, but have made them, in some instances, more favorable to women than to men. Not long since we heard a man say that his wife had a piece of land which she could dispose of without saying a word to him, while he owned real estate, but any deed from him without her signature would be worthless. The fact that women are so indifferent to female suffrage proves that there is no antagonism between the sexes. God has said that husband and wife are one flesh; and we are warned that we have no right to create a division. We take the follow-

ing very sensible remarks from a letter written by Rev. R. M. Hatfield to "The Independent :"—

"Human nature is selfish, and there is a good deal of human nature in both men and women; but *any general antagonism between the sexes is impossible*. Their interests are so related and interblended, that no power can separate them, much less array them under opposing standards. And, when one man and one woman are joined together by love in the holy state of matrimony, they are no more twain, but one flesh. Any conflict between them would be as unnatural as a conflict between the different members of the same body. The husband who attempts to oppress or degrade his wife is a madman, who hates his own flesh. No reconstruction of society, therefore, is needed to abolish this imaginary antagonism between the sexes."

In accordance, then, with the *principle* involved in popular suffrage, which our forefathers established, there is no reason why the number of votes should be increased by making it the duty of women to vote, as well as men; but there are many reasons against it. The supposition that the family can have two purposes is subversive of the very existence of

this institution which God established in the garden of Eden. Our fathers thought it sufficient that all classes were made voters. It certainly is impossible to allow all individuals to go to the ballot-box. If female suffrage was adopted, only two-sevenths of the population would be voters ; so that voting, even then, would be done by two persons for themselves and five others. The principle which the Innovators condemn would still exist. To place the ballot in the hands of even half of the whole population, it must be given to more than half of those who are now considered minors. We consider the ties of affection strong enough to hinder fathers from making unjust laws in regard to their children ; and, for the same reason, they can be trusted to perform this duty for their wives. Because minors above fifteen are not allowed to vote, it by no means logically follows that women should not at any age ; but, if this is just, it certainly establishes the falsehood of the principle that intelligence should be the *only* qualification of voters. It goes to prove that the intelligence of women is not *sufficient* to establish their claim to suffrage, since there may be other reasons strong enough to outweigh this.

All people, young or old, have a *natural*

*right* to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” Suffrage is a mean, or expedient, to secure those blessings; hence it is a mere matter of expediency as to what part of the people shall be voters. That system is best which secures these blessings the most perfectly to all the people, with the least trouble and expense.



## CHAPTER V.

## SHOULD WOMEN VOTE, AND HOLD OFFICE?

**W**E are now prepared to give a summary of the reasons why women should not engage in active political life. If the reader does not accept our conclusions on some points, it should not produce such a prejudice that other arguments will be rejected without examining their merits. It is true, that there is a connection between the several arguments, so that one supports the other; yet, to a certain extent, each must stand or fall on its own merits, and the overthrow of one does not necessarily weaken the others. A part of this chapter may be a repetition of what has preceded; but we wish to bring all the arguments together, that the reader may take a comprehensive view of the whole.

1. *Difficulties of a Physical Character.* — It has been suggested, that, if women vote, they can send their ballots in a sealed envelope, by

the hands of men ; but this would be granting too much : hence the Innovators do not generally favor this scheme. It would open so many avenues for fraud, that it could not well be practised. If women vote, they must go to the polls with the men. In cities, the difficulty of getting *to* the polls is comparatively small ; but, in the country towns, this is a matter of considerable importance. Some towns in New England are so intersected with hills, that the journey on election days is quite an important matter. Farmers usually have a horse ; but there are sometimes three or four villages in the same town, and the "town-house" must be several miles from some of them. We know of towns where some are obliged to go ten miles ; and five or six miles is not an unusual distance. At present, there is no small difficulty in securing a full vote from the men. If women vote, of course the difficulty will be more than doubled. But election-days are often so stormy, that one-third of the men stay at home, and the number of women remaining at home would probably be much larger. It is sometimes necessary to hold town-meetings in the winter, when it would be almost impossible to secure the attendance of one-half of the women. But, even in good weather, men con-

sider election-day one of the most fatiguing of the whole year. The crowding is considerable now, and it would be much worse if twice as many went to the polls. The fatigue would be more than most women would wish to endure.

The *expense* of elections would be increased more than two-fold ; for it would be necessary to build town-halls more than twice as commodious as they are now, to provide even respectable accommodations for the women. We do not think these considerations of as much importance as those of another kind ; yet they are worthy of notice. Certainly, women should not be obliged to suffer so much inconvenience, and the taxes should not be increased, unless there is an important advantage to be derived from it.

But the result which these obstacles would bring about might be an important matter. The variation in the number of voters at different elections would be much greater than it is now. One year there would be a fair day for election, and the next might be stormy ; so that the vote in cities would be much larger than in the country towns : hence one party would prevail one year, and another the next. Stability is necessary to the permanence of any government. People have but little respect for

laws that are made one year, and repealed the next. At present, the wavering of public opinion from year to year is a great evil; but this would be aggravated to an alarming extent if women voted, as laws might then depend upon the state of the weather. If, in addition to this, women should not take so much interest in politics as men do, laws would be as uncertain as though they depended upon the caprice of one man, and, in some respects, *more* uncertain; as an absolute monarch would be kept within bounds through fear of revolt. In New Jersey the women nearly all went to the polls some years, while only a few went generally. Lucy Stone and H. B. Blackwell are responsible for the following in regard to New Jersey. We quote from Mrs. Dall's "College, Market, and Court," p. 477. "That women voted at a very early period, we are informed by the venerable Mr. Cyrus Jones of East Orange, who was born in 1770, and is now ninety-seven years old. He says that 'old maids, widows, and unmarried women very frequently voted, but married women very seldom; that 'the right was recognized, and very little said or thought about it in any way.'"

2. *As women do not wish the duty of suffrage imposed upon them, it would be unjust*

*to expect them to go to the polls.* We have no statistics to show how many women wish to vote, but it is generally admitted that they are comparatively few. Of those who have signed petitions for suffrage, it is probable that only a minority have any decided desire to go to the polls. A little urging would induce those who are indifferent to place their names by the side of others. We know of no one who claims that any considerable part of the sex are strongly desirous of suffrage; while it is certain that the great majority of women not only do not desire it, but are strongly opposed to it. We can easily show that it would be wrong to grant the wishes of this minority.

As soon as one woman is *allowed* to vote, it becomes the *duty* of all. It is only by taking a partial and one-sided view of suffrage, that a respectable minority of women have been coaxed to desire it. In one sense, suffrage may be regarded as *a right*; but, in its most important and permanent bearings, it is *a duty*, and one that often involves considerable difficulty. It is deceptive and unfair to make a great noise about the *right* of suffrage, as though it would make women happy all their lives if they could only vote. Suffrage *in itself* can only be regarded as a duty or task, involving more or

less trouble and expense. As productive of good in the same sense that any labor is, it may be regarded as a right or privilege. If women are to gain more than they would lose by suffrage, it would be a privilege for them to vote; but it must not be forgotten that this involves a task upon the physical, mental, and moral nature, more or less severe. Now, the majority of women believe that voting should be classed among the rougher duties which belong to men; that they would gain no substantial advantage thereby; that they would suffer harm in many respects: hence they think that they have a *natural* right to remain at home, and require the men to furnish them protection.

But some one may say, "Let those vote who wish to, and the rest can remain at home." This sounds well, and seems fair; but it will not bear examination. If women are allowed to vote, wicked men will be numerous enough to persuade or hire the worst class of women to vote in support of any scheme; hence it will be necessary for all upright women to go to the polls to counteract such evil plots, and sustain morality. If any women vote, there is no safety for the public unless they all discharge that duty; hence the adoption of female suffrage on the ground that *the few* desire it would be an

indirect method of *forcing all* to vote. Before election, the papers, of all parties, would impress upon their readers the duty of seeing that every man and woman were at the polls. The leading political women would look after others, and any woman who remained at home would be denounced as a traitor to her principles.

"The Independent" once said, "Any class of women who will not vote are not the better class, for they are false to their duty." This matter cannot be decided on the ground that a minority wish the ballot, because the whole community is concerned. The Innovators have no right to assume that they are the representatives of women, and are advocating their interests. If the majority of women hold erroneous views, proper means may be taken to correct them ; but, so long as their views are unchanged, it would be the height of injustice to adopt female suffrage. If the majority of women desired suffrage, there are reasons which we think sufficient to refuse it ; but, as the case now stands, there cannot be the least doubt. Perhaps they will change their opinions ; but they have considered the question so long now, that we do not believe the time will ever come when the majority of women will wish to vote.

From making the false assumption that *they*

are the spokesmen for women, and representatives of their interests, the Innovators advocate views which are ridiculously inconsistent. When any thing has been said about woman's sphere, they have replied with an arrogant tone, that no man had a right to say what woman's sphere is, but that they must decide for themselves; yet *they* assume with perfect confidence that politics do come within her sphere; and "The Independent" has not been alone in declaring that those women who would not engage in politics were "*false to their duty.*" *They* have a perfect right to prescribe to woman her sphere, while we have no right to open our mouths on the subject! If women have a right to decide what their sphere is, they have a right to *not* engage in politics; and no handful of women in a convention can decide for the majority. Labor should not be regulated by law, and the minority ought to be allowed by society to follow their own tastes, even if some do dislike their preferences; but suffrage must be subject to legal restrictions, and the minority must yield.

The Innovators, with a great many loud protestations, *assume* that they are better friends of woman than their opponents; which is not true, if women are good judges. Those who make the warmest professions of friendship are

not always the best friends. We do not deny the fact that those men who favor female suffrage generally *desire* the good of woman: but their intentions are no better than *ours*; and we who oppose them have as good a right to denounce them as the enemies of woman. Both parties mean well, but one or the other is mistaken. When we see two men disputing, it is generally safe to say that the one who makes the most noise is in the wrong. Some of those who oppose female suffrage have been intemperate and unreasonable in their arguments, but we think not as much so as the Innovators. Even John Stuart Mill seems to lose his self-control on this subject.

Aside from the injustice of forcing suffrage upon the fair sex, it would not be good policy for the Innovators to ask the men to grant it until the women are all *earnest* in demanding the privilege, if it is one. If female suffrage should be adopted, perhaps the women might be persuaded to go to the polls once or twice; but by that time the novelty would be gone, and the stern reality would have a salutary influence on minds of a romantic tendency. They would begin to complain of the crowding, turmoil, and fatigue of election-days. They might say that they never wanted to vote, but consented to try just to please

the men. The best of them might think best to stay at home ; and *irregularities* might become as enormous as they were in New Jersey, and the boasted reform might *go under*, as it did in that State. Or the number of female voters might become so small that it would seem best to go back to the old custom. Mrs. Dall informs us, on the authority of a Mr. Parker, that the women of New Jersey were not anxious to retain the right of suffrage ; and, as Mill cannot be satisfied with any thing short of experiment, the trial in New Jersey ought to have *some* weight. If a trial now should prove a failure, as it did then, the men who have talked so gloriously about this great movement (?) might feel rather — say, something as Jeff Davis did when captured ! Now, they can save themselves from any such mortification. If the Innovators will use their imagination less, and common sense more, they will look at the future not as a picture of their romantic hopes, but will see a world composed of good men and women, and bad men and women, just as we have them now. We can appreciate the generous impulses that have animated some who advocate this cause ; but their actions speak better for the heart than the head. A warm, sympathizing heart is a blessing which any man might covet ;

but it is a poor thing to draw conclusions from. As the cry of justice to woman has been raised, some have caught the inspiration, and rushed blindly to the rescue, without stopping to examine carefully whether they were not advocating measures which involved the height of injustice to the majority of the sex. Enthusiasm is good, but an excess is suicidal.

3. *The family should have but one representative.* If there are husbands and wives who have so little love for each other, or such a spasmodic love, that they cannot refrain from family broils, there are certainly very few who have not respect enough for family unity to represent themselves as one in public. We once heard of a man who was beating his wife so severely that she shouted for help. A man, who was passing, rushed into the house and seized the cruel husband, when the wife at once took her husband's part, and the intruder was obliged to flee to save himself from harsh treatment. As a nation, we have our disputes ; yet we feel ashamed of ourselves when we cannot show other nations that we are agreed.

It is not consistent with decency to suppose that the family will be so divided against itself that one member will perform a public act directly antagonistic to the other ; hence it would

be folly to increase the trouble and expense two-fold, when one could perform the duty as well alone. If any one objects that husbands and wives actually do differ in politics, we reply that government cannot recognize any such difference ; that husband and wife are supposed to be one, and the family is allowed to arrange its own internal affairs, except when the abuse or infidelity of one of the parties is such that the interference of law is necessary. There can be no *general* provision for such cases ; but, on the application of one of the parties to a magistrate, a *specific* remedy can be applied. We think that laws should be so formed that a wife will be protected against abuse. Perhaps there might be cases where the wife might not wish or deserve a divorce, yet a remedy be needed. For instance, if a wife could give a magistrate satisfactory proof that her husband was wasting property by gambling, drunkenness, or in any way except by ordinary business mis-calculations, then she, or some one whom she might choose, should be allowed to control the whole property, so that he could not use a dollar unless it went through her hands. If a man worth a million dollars should marry a woman who had no money of her own, we think that she should be considered an equal owner in that property.

How can it be otherwise? If husband and wife are one, what either owns, the other does also. In case that husband should be guilty of adultery within a year after marriage, we think that a divorce should be granted the wife, and a division of the property made, so that she should have three-fourths of the million dollars as her own, and he one-fourth. In cases where both parties are in fault, the court should be allowed discretionary powers, and allowed to divide according to guilt. We favor the most radical measures, provided they are consistent with the unity of the family. We do not see how female suffrage can be adopted without discarding the family, which is the foundation of all society. If man is not the proper representative of the family, then it must be woman. Both must not be sent to the polls. As man is the natural provider for the family, and protector, and performs those duties of a rough nature, we think that the duty of voting belongs more properly to him. We also believe that he would perform it better than the wife would. There are other matters which she can perform better than he can; and it is but reasonable that she should have the superintendence of them, and he should be subordinate, or second. As the majority of women think that suffrage is a mascu-

line duty, what reasonable objection can there be to the present arrangement? Of the women who desire suffrage, the reasonable ones will not complain if they are under the necessity of yielding to the will of the majority. Those who are *unreasonable* are not worth noticing. We do not undertake to divide them: they can place themselves in whichever class they wish.

But some say, "All we ask is, that women be placed where they can defend their own rights." If they are not in that position now, they will not be as voters. There is abundance of facts which show that men generally have no disposition to wrong women. If we bring the sexes into antagonism, their sex will prevail, as they are stronger than women. What would we think of any one who should say, in regard to military operations, that it was necessary to arm women, so that they could defend themselves?—as though it were humiliating that men were accustomed to defend them! God has so constituted the sexes, that woman always has been obliged to depend upon man for protection, and always must. No woman has any objection to this arrangement, unless she has false ideas of honor, and is burdened with self-conceit. In some respects, woman is dependent upon man;

while in others, man is dependent upon woman. The strong man is as powerless as a child before the woman whom he loves. His happiness *depends* upon her love. Those proud and haughty persons who stalk through the world so independent of everybody else are not usually wiser than others, although they think they are.

Says Mill, "The majority of women of any class are not likely to differ in political opinion from the majority of men of the same class, unless the question be one in which the interests of women, as such, are in some way involved ; and if they are so, women require the suffrage as their guaranty of just and equal consideration." The facts in regard to the laws in this country, to which we have already alluded, are sufficient to disprove the last part of this assertion. His admission that the sexes would *generally* agree is all that we could ask of him on this point ; for laws are made in accordance with the circumstances of the majority. To say the least, female suffrage would be the cause of a great deal of trouble and expense to no purpose. If it can be said that the wife is *governed*, it certainly is by her own consent. It seems a little strange that the Innovators have such strong faith in men, that they feel confident of persuading them to adopt female suffrage ; while

they have so little faith in them, that they are not supposed capable of doing justice to women! If men will grant the greater, will they not the less? It is contrary to the principle which underlies all society, to suppose that men and women constitute two classes with opposite interests. They are one, and their interests one. The bond of love which unites husband and wife is stronger than any law. Those who marry without love should be left to their own punishment. Law should make no general provision for such. God does not suspend a general law to benefit the man who thrusts his hand into the fire. Provision for marriage without love encourages the crime.

4. *Woman's nature is not adapted to political duties.* We think that we have shown the injustice of requiring women to vote; and, if it is contrary to their nature, it is safe to conclude that they never will generally desire to take part in politics. The Innovators may hold conventions in every town in the United States, and continue them for a hundred years; and we venture the prophecy that the women desiring to vote would then be in the minority. If the nature of the fair sex is not adapted to political life, it is not unjust to exclude them from office. As this is a subject for law: it is not

consistent with the public good to provide for exceptions.

The sensitive nature of virtuous women generally shrinks from public places, where men of all classes, including the baser sort, are congregated. We have noticed the physical difficulties of election-days, but the mental and moral obstacles are of a still more serious nature. The excitement, and coarse, not to say vulgar, talk of men at such times is peculiarly repugnant to women. Some have asserted, that, if respectable women went to the polls, bad men would stay away; but there is no reason to expect this. Politicians will be sure that no wicked man remains at home; and this class would hardly be frightened or shamed by man or woman. In spite of laws, some men will have liquor; and, when they do not drink enough to subject themselves to arrest, their actions and appearance are not particularly pleasant to a woman. Even if order and decency should prevail to a greater extent than they do now, still it would be a rough and contaminating place. We cannot select model towns, and draw conclusions from them; but we must reason from town-meetings as they average. The crowd would be twice as large as it is now, and a rough scene of turmoil would be almost inevitable. Per-

haps some have taken pleasure in dreaming over the peace, order, and quiet that would prevail at the polls when women vote ; but there is no reason to expect that such hopes would be realized. Coarse and brutal men would have little regard for the delicacy of woman, when influenced by liquor and the excitement of voting. If women meet men on their own ground, they would soon lose that respect which they now command, and men would soon show them no more deference than one of their own sex. Brutal men are never restrained by any thing but the strong arm of an officer.

If women vote, one of two things must happen : they will take no interest in politics, and avoid contamination as much as possible, and so will be but a dead weight, without any great influence ; or, they will engage with the same zeal as men, and, to be successful, must become assimilated to their work ; that is, their natures must be more masculine. We do not believe that they can become just like men ; but they can be changed enough to destroy much that is lovely and noble in them now, while they will have made but an imperfect attainment of that which is desirable in man. It will be easier for them to imitate the faults of men than their virtues.

Would woman elevate politics or would politics degrade woman? Which is the most probable? It is said that every man has his *forte*. If he can meet another on his own ground, he will be triumphant. If his antagonist has the choice of position or weapons, he is as sure to fall as he was to win in the former case. Now, women are superior to men in some respects; and if they can get them where there is the best chance to display their own powers, while those of the men are taken at disadvantage, the women will prevail, and *vice versa*. In society, where there is an excellent chance for woman to display her quick, warm, sensitive nature, and her powers are free from restraint, she will prevail over man, and restrain his evil tendencies. The rough strength of man does not serve him here, and he yields. But if women go into the rugged paths which men tread, they are out of their element, and comparatively powerless. Their delicacy was not intended for grappling with the forces here arrayed against them. While the sterner and coarser part of man's nature is in its glory on election-days, a woman's influence would hardly be felt. She would be obliged to retire from such scenes, or yield to their influence. The power would remain in the hands of men as

much as it is now. Suppose men should be dissatisfied with the social supremacy of women, and resolve to cultivate grace and refinement, in the hope that they might equal women in quickness and delicacy, as well as in nobility and generosity of heart, so that their nature would be as sensitive and sympathizing as woman's. Suppose they should expect to succeed, and hope thereby to be allowed to keep their seats in the cars and allow women to stand, and be allowed to treat women in society with no more respect than they show each other. Who believes they would succeed? and who supposes that they would be able to imitate more than the faults of women, without acquiring their virtues? Who does not feel confident that they would have parted with their own excellences without receiving any thing in return? If this is true in regard to men, we must suppose women, on the whole, superior to them, if they are able to enter the rough scenes of public life, and triumph. Superiority in opposite characteristics cannot be combined in the same individual. If it were possible for women to triumph in public life, it would necessarily be at the expense of parting with what they now have. Some will not believe this, but all human experience is against them. The probability is,

that women would lose their present position, without gaining any thing. It is a wise proverb which says, "Grasp all, lose all."

Wendell Phillips has well said, that there is in the human mind an idea which demands "fair play." If women generally should demand political equality, the majority of men might say, "Very well, you shall have it; but you must take its logical consequences. There must be equality everywhere. In social circles we must be *your* equals. We shall no longer pay homage to woman. In public and in private you shall be treated like men,—no better, no worse. You stand on your dignity, and say that you do not wish to be *protected*: all you ask is that you be allowed to protect yourselves! Appoint your own police-officers. Take your chances in war with the men; for so great a man as Plato thought that women could and should be allowed to perform the lighter kinds of military duty; and Lydia Maria Child says, in 'The Independent,' 'Even in physical strength, I doubt whether there is so much difference between men and women as has been generally assumed. Female slaves did as much and as hard work upon the plantations as the male slaves. In the long tramps of Indian tribes, the women carry all the heavy burdens,

in addition to their children, strapped upon their backs.' John Stuart Mill, your best friend (!), says, 'There are no means of finding what either one person or many can do, but by *trying*.' You have never been allowed to study military science, because men wished to keep the power in their hands; but we now admit your *equality*! It is true, these ideas conflict with the *prejudices* of conservatives, but all must yield to 'the spirit of the age.' *Equal rights to all!*'

Who could say that there would be any unfairness on the part of men if they should say the above to women, in case they should accept the doctrines of the Innovators, and demand suffrage as a *right*? The above is no mere burlesque. It would be as fair and candid as the demands of the Innovators. They make their ridiculously fair statements and arguments on the supposition that the sexes are equal in *all* respects; when, in fact, one sex is superior in and should have the control of one sphere of action, while the other sex is superior in and should have the control of another sphere. This is the only kind of equality that has existed or ever can exist between the sexes. Women have so much good sense that the majority of them never will wish to engage in political life: hence men will

never be under the necessity of replying as we have represented them. This boasted reform of female suffrage must and will prove a failure! The Innovators may agitate till doomsday, and the majority of women will only sit and smile at their enthusiasm. Good will come out of this commotion, but it will not be in the way some expect.

Why would office-holding corrupt women more than men? Why would wickedness prevail to a greater extent than it does now? Many might reply at once that such would not be the result. This must not be decided by a superficial examination, nor can this be decided by citing one or two instances: we must reason from the general characteristics of the sexes. We believe that one sex is naturally as upright and honest as the other. Under present circumstances, women are better than men. A woman's nature is so sympathetic, her affections are so strong, and her feelings are so much stronger than any other part of her nature, that a shrewd politician, by assisting her in some matter of minor importance, and sympathizing with some of her plans, could obtain such a firm hold of her generosity that she would easily be led to assist him in promoting almost any scheme. An act that at first would appear to her unjust

would be so explained, that, in the end, it would seem to her infinitely meaner to forsake the man who had been *so good* to her, than to support any measure. With women in Congress, "log-rolling" would become a ten-fold worse evil than it is now, and men would generally get the best end of the bargain. The above is true in regard to the majority of *honest* women. Wicked and corrupt women would, we think, get the advantage of the men sometimes, perhaps as often as men would cheat them in a political bargain. Men would sometimes be placed in such a position that they would not *dare* to refuse a woman's request to vote for a certain measure. Kings have often decided important measures through the influence of a mistress; not in accordance with justice, but in accordance with the wishes of that wicked companion. We do not suppose that there would be intrigues between one-half of the Congressmen and Congresswomen; but who does not believe that there would be *some* instances of this kind? But the great evil of a promiscuous legislative assembly would be, that questions would not be decided according to justice and reason, but by *influence* brought to bear by different members of each sex upon each other. A man can be more easily *influenced* by a woman than by an-

other man. Lobbyists understand this, and employ them sometimes. Corruption is prevalent enough in legislative assemblies now; and we have every reason to think that it would be much worse with women in them. We think that a Congress composed entirely of women would be preferable to one composed of an equal number of both sexes. Perhaps some may think that we ought not to write about such matters; but we think it false delicacy to cloak them when everybody knows that this is one of the most important questions involved in the discussion of this subject.

"The Independent," in reviewing Mill's "Subjection of Women," says, "Nine out of every ten men and women who oppose Mr. Mill's views, and who have any thing like reasonable ground, any thing better than stupid conventionality and blind prejudice, to support them, would say, if they spoke out openly and honestly, that this dread of the moral consequences of such a free intermingling of the sexes as woman's political emancipation ought to produce and encourage, is their strongest objection to the movement. Like everybody else engaged in the public discussion, Mr. Mill has ignored this part of the question. The argument has not been formally and publicly raised against him, and he has

not apparently felt called upon to answer and discuss it. We know perfectly well what his own opinion would be. Mr. Mill's belief in the capacity of the human race for self-control and moral purity is one of the strongest of his faiths. To him it seems clear, that, whatever extends education among women promotes the morality alike of men and women; and this principle he would, of course, apply to the political emancipation he now advocates. Still, one cannot deny or doubt the deep and general influence of the argument to which we have alluded; and we cannot help regretting that Mr. Mill did not go a little out of his way, were that necessary, to give it a full and frank consideration."

The *belief* of Mr. Mill or Mr. Tilton "in the capacity of the human race for self-control and moral purity" may be good proof that these gentlemen have sanguine and confiding natures, but can have little weight in the decision of this question, so long as there is such a strong array of facts against such belief. The history of the world shows that the only sure way of resisting temptation is to avoid it. Some persons, when they have once formed good habits, can resist temptation, no matter how great its allurements; but quite a large portion

of the race cannot, or certainly never have. In regard to this question, it does not matter if we do not know the exact proportion of the race which can resist the temptation alluded to; but this much we are sure of, that an increase of temptation will produce an increase of crime, and *vice versa*. We can calculate this with as much certainty as we can that an addition of fuel to the fire will produce an increase of heat. Those who feel confident that they can resist any seductive influence generally pay for their temerity by yielding to the tempter. Human nature is such, that it is the duty of government to make the amount of temptation as small as possible. Has Theodore Tilton such strong faith in man's power of self-control, that he would multiply dram-shops for the sake of promoting *any* measure?

If any one says that women can engage in politics, and still *avoid* their influence, we reply, If women are to touch politics only with the tips of their fingers, they had better remain where they are. Unless they engage in political life with the same zeal that men do, they can be nothing better than a dead weight, and a hinderance to action.

Some have such strong faith that women would reform politics, that a trial would probably sadly

disappoint their hopes. We do not see where they can find facts to substantiate these hopes. Women are not so stupid that they could not try political scheming. It is but a few years since there was considerable comment on the *coalition* formed in Kansas between Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony, and George Francis Train. It was not of quite as much importance as the one in which Fox figured, but was as little expected. This is sufficient to show what *might* happen, if women should engage in politics. We have every reason to think that they would form political schemes and combinations, the same as men do; and they would probably be more frequent and dangerous than those which are formed by one sex alone. If two of the most prominent and substantial leaders among the women who demand suffrage have learned the politician's tactics already, we might expect more of the same kind if they were in Congress.

In the article by Mrs. Child, to which we have referred, she says, "Few things connected with public affairs have given me so much pain and mortification as to observe occasional indications that some women were willing to set aside the freedman's right to vote, thinking thereby to hasten the acknowledgment of their own. . . . That there is one

woman who would gain freedom for herself by violating principles of freedom with regard to other human beings indicates a latent disease, against which it behooves us to take warning in time." Mrs. Dall, on discovering a scheme of this nature, says, "If women seek to advance their own cause by mean and meretricious tricks, such as those which have dishonored the policy of men, may God forever disappoint their hope! I would rather be defeated with the friends of liberty, than crowned with its foes. It is because I believe woman strong enough to withstand the low and loose and degrading temptations of public life, that I would lead her towards it. If she cannot enter it as an inspiration, may she be forever shut out!" Such rebukes are needed already; and more severe ones would be needed if women should really engage in politics. The Devil has not a reputation for honesty, but can present as good a claim to shrewdness as anybody. He probably has not forgotten his success in the Garden of Eden, as he has employed the same tactics thousands of times since. If women should engage in political life, and, in the course of time, Satan should think best to send a few apples to Congress, it would not be strange if he sent them by the hands of women. The very char-

acteristics which render woman less fit for politics than man are her glory in her present position. Sin is nothing more nor less than the use of all or any part of our physical, mental, and moral nature for a *different* purpose from that for which it was intended by the Creator.

If we suppose the greatest encouragement given to women to engage in the same kinds of labor and in the same professions that men do, still, the time would never come when the great majority would not be wives, and on that account so occupied that they could not attend to any trade or profession. For this reason, women never will be as well informed on financial and other matters of public interest as men are. Probably three-fourths of the bills that come before our legislatures every year are about matters of which women could have no opportunity to obtain the knowledge that men have. If it was desirable, it would not be possible, to place any considerable portion of the sex in a position to be as well acquainted with public affairs as men are.

Some may think that women should be eligible to office if they do not vote, as there may be some who are eminently qualified for office. We think that we have given ~~seas~~ reasons enough already to answer this. Aside from

the danger of providing for exceptions, it is no more than just that each sex should have the important positions and emoluments of its own sphere. It would be a very rare occurrence, when a woman qualified for any public place would desire it. Doubtless, many would desire office who were not fit for any responsible position. Perhaps it is hardly necessary that there should be any *law* against woman's holding office, as the matter will take care of itself without any law.

The fact that female suffrage has been discussed in every house in the country for several years, and women still shrink from politics, is enough to show that it is discordant with their nature. It is useless to assert that they do not speak their real opinions for fear of displeasing the men. There are probably more men in the country now in favor of female suffrage than women. Many of those who oppose the movement are the energetic, independent sort of women, who speak their opinions frankly to everybody. It cannot truthfully be said, that the women have not candidly considered the subject, but are clinging blindly to those customs which have helped form their characters. Some of the most celebrated literary women of the country, as well

as the most highly educated, are opposed to female suffrage. Certainly, there is no woman who opposes the measure, *more* blinded by prejudice than some who favor it.

Our attention is often called to such queens as Isabella, Elizabeth, Maria Theresa, and others, who have been eminent rulers. Mill claims that queens have, on the average, been better than kings, and adds, "This fact is so undeniable, that some one, long ago, tried to retort the argument, and turned the admitted truth into an additional insult, by saying, that queens are better than kings, because, under kings, women govern, but, under queens, men." He considers this a *bad joke*, and endeavors to show that it is *not* true. It cannot well be denied that there is some truth in the statement, that, under queens, the influence of men has generally been great. Who would give Victoria any considerable share of the credit of the important measures that have characterized her reign? It is well known that Elizabeth was capricious and wilful; and we do not see how the glory of her reign can be to any great degree ascribed to her. A re-action would have taken place after Mary's reign under a good but mediocre queen. But why do not the Innovators lay stress upon the gov-

erning power of such women as Catherine de Medici and Bloody Mary? Mill refers to female rulers in Hindoo principalities, as evidence of the governing capacity of women. The world knows but little about the circumstances which surround the men and women who have ruled in that heathen country; but, if we are not mistaken, both sexes are "*eminently artificial*" there; and, according to Mill's own reasoning, we could learn but little about the *natural* ability of Hindoos of either sex. At all events, the number of female rulers has not been so great, and their individual influence so distinct, that we could form any conclusion for or against the governing capacity of women in general. Besides, the position of queens was almost entirely unlike that which would be occupied by a woman engaged in American politics. The most of their administrative acts were performed in a comparatively private way. Nearly all that they did in public was to display the royal robes.

5. *There is no good reason for changing the present system of voting.* We hardly think any one would favor female suffrage, without entertaining the hope that some good would result from its adoption. There are some who

have strong faith ; but there is a serious difficulty, since their hope is not *well grounded*. We have been told that the ballot would secure for woman a better education, higher wages, more self-respect, a higher social position, &c., &c. No well-informed person will claim that wages can be affected to any considerable extent by the ballot. The price of labor must depend upon quality, as well as supply and demand. Experience has proved that equal laws can be obtained without female suffrage. The numerous other blessings which we are told would be so freely showered upon the heads of the fair sex are so remotely connected with suffrage, that it requires a vivid imagination to enable a person of sanguine temperament to discover any relation between them. Reforms usually have something besides "*conjectures*" for a foundation. The Innovators have never made a respectable *attempt* to prove that the blessings which they have dwelt upon have any connection with female suffrage. They have falsely asserted that women were slaves, and then allowed their vision to feast upon the glories of their emancipation ! They have told us that certain results would be produced ; but the world will not rest satisfied with such assertions. The Innovators have become

so accustomed to exaggeration, that they would probably all be astonished at themselves if they should quietly sit down and examine the plain, unvarnished facts of the case. They would discover that they had made a great noise about some very small matters. The public have been deceived and hoodwinked by facts! Great stress has been laid on the sufferings of laboring women, and other evils have received due attention; and the sympathy of the public aroused in this way, although these facts have not the remotest relation to female suffrage.

There are some objections raised against the present system, which we feel called upon to answer. All who read "*The Independent*" are, or ought to be, admirers of "*M. C. A.*," a woman who favors female suffrage, while she does not allow her imagination to picture women as slaves and men as cut-throats. We quote the following from one of her letters to "*The Independent*," as it probably contains the views of a large number. From the connection, we should not think that it necessarily embodies the views of "*M. C. A.*," but is rather a statement of facts than an expression of her opinion:—

" You, an intelligent, educated, thoughtful man, would feel it to be an insult, if some ignorant woman, intellectually and morally

your inferior, should declare to you that you had no right to the elective franchise solely because you are a man. And you would feel still more deeply outraged if the balance of political power were placed with the ignorant and depraved, solely on the basis of sex, while you, amenable to every law, were denied all voice, solely on account of yours. The intelligent, educated, thoughtful woman can feel no differently when an ignorant boor looks into her face, and assures her that she is entitled to no political right which *he* enjoys, because she is a woman. Personally she may have no desire to vote; yet the human nature in her feels a sense of outrage, that such as he may control the laws which govern her, solely through the caste of sex. Think of an intellectual woman, who had consecrated her best powers to the redemption of his race, being told by a man born a slave, and but two years free, ‘Women had no right to vote, because they were women.’ The fact cannot be denied, that many women, who would have been content that their fathers and husbands should have legislated for them to their dying day, are now fully committed to female suffrage through their antagonism to this spirit universal among freedmen, and to the same spirit in the ignorant and brutalized thou-

sands who swarm from foreign lands to become naturalized voters in this republic. In them, it is the spontaneous protest of intellect and spirit against the supremacy of brutality and vice."

In this same letter, she makes some excuses for those women *who scream the story of their own personal wrongs on every possible occasion*; or, rather, an excuse for the Innovators for having such. "Certain it is, that the great army of the queer and crazy march instinctively after every thing new. . . . Yet it is a very narrow vision which sees *nothing* but the crudities and absurdities of outward forms." We think that the Innovators have a greater share of followers who are either "*queer*" or "*crazy*" than *reforms* usually have; yet we admit that the subject should not be disregarded on this account: although the large number of such followers affords a presumption that there is something erratic in the movement. It would not be worth while to notice what these "*crazy*" people say, if more sensible persons did not agree with them. If the Innovators should not be judged from the wild remarks of such, neither should the opponents of female suffrage by the language or conduct of "*an ignorant boor*." At the first thought, it does seem rather unjust, that the lowest man in the community can vote, while

the wisest woman cannot; but a moment's reflection will convince any one that only an *imaginary* advantage would be gained by female suffrage, for the lowest and most degraded women would vote as well as others, so that the relative strength of the two classes would be the same as it is now. If this argument is good for any thing, it is good against popular suffrage. Women ought not to become indignant at the remarks of the ignorant, and form their opinions on a great social question under the influence of their feelings. The men should not, and generally do not, pay much attention to the remarks of those "crazy" *man-haters* whose sole purpose it is to scold, and complain of their lot. On the other hand, women should not take notice of the remarks of ignorant and unreasonable men, but

- form their opinions of suffrage from a fair examination of the whole subject in all its relations.

*We are constantly reminded that taxation without representation is tyranny: therefore women should vote!* This is a good general principle, but there are exceptions to all rules. The women are all represented, except widows and the unmarried. So long as a woman *elects* her own husband (and they can sometimes take their choice of several *candidates*), it is their own fault if they are not properly represented..

It will be time enough to consider the exceptions when a majority of the unmarried women and widows express a desire for suffrage. There could be no general good result to themselves or others from a participation in State elections; but, in regard to some local matters, it sometimes seems desirable that an unmarried woman should vote. In school districts, where a widow has children, she ought to have a voice, as well as other families; and we believe that the law of some States allows this. Except in some local matters of this kind, the bestowal of suffrage upon unmarried women would be for the sake of satisfying the *name* of justice, rather than granting them any substantial advantage. It is a very sharp joke (!), we admit, to say that men, instead of representing women, have always *mis*-represented them. The only fallacy in the statement consists in the fact that it is not true. The majority of women sustain us in this assertion.

*In reply to some arguments against female suffrage, the Innovators say, "The same argument was urged in favor of slavery."* They consider this conclusive, and think it necessary to say no more to refute any argument. Their reasoning is something like this: A. asserts that the Bible authorizes and commends stealing: B. declares that the Bible teaches us to love our

neighbors as ourselves. The assertion of A. is incorrect and false: therefore B.'s assertion is also false. Any one who has never seen a work on logic could detect the fallacy in this reasoning, yet this is a fair specimen of that which is constantly used by these would-be reformers. From the number of weak arguments used, we should think it not unfair to infer that the Innovators have not a large stock of good ones, although they seem to have an extensive supply of *assertions*.

In reply to the argument that women have already as much power as men, without suffrage, "The Independent" says, "Then why have the laws relating to women been confessedly unjust? and, if they have influence, they should be held responsible for it. Margaret Fuller well said, 'There should always be open responsibility where there must at any rate be concealed power.' Under the concealed influence of royal mistresses, France was misruled; under the open control of Elizabeth and Maria Theresa, England and Austria became great." Wendell Phillips, in 1851, presented to the Worcester convention a series of resolutions of which we give one: "*Resolved*, That, so far from denying the overwhelming social and civil influence of women, we are fully aware of its

vast extent ; aware, with Demosthenes, that ‘measures which the statesman has meditated a whole year may be overturned in a day by a woman ;’ and for this very reason we proclaim it the very highest expediency to endow her with full civil rights, since only then will she exercise this mighty influence under a just sense of her duty and responsibility ; the history of all ages bearing witness that the only safe course for nations is to add open responsibility wherever there already exists unobserved power.”

What is the meaning of all this ? Do they really claim that the women of our country have exercised their social influence in such a way that “the only safe course” for our nation is to bring them into public life, where they can be *governed*? Is there any reason to think that their private influence would be exercised more wisely than it is now ? Would not the intrigues of “mistresses” be more numerous than they now are ? Do men cease to plot secretly when they get into places of responsibility ? Perhaps they are more careful to conceal their schemes, and on that account they are the more dangerous. Woman’s influence is exerted socially, but not in a secret or concealed way generally. Public opinion is the principal check upon the power of office-holders, and

women are as much accountable to that tribunal as men. If women voted, they would give their husbands as many *curtain lectures* as they do now. No power can ever deprive them of this *right or duty*; and, as long as the majority of men do not complain, there is no need of interference on the part of government. It is here acknowledged that woman's social power is "overwhelming;" which is a plain contradiction of Mill and some others, who claim that the power is all in the hands of men.

Mill informs us that "every step in improvement has been so invariably accompanied by a step made in raising the social position of women, that historians and philosophers have been led to adopt their elevation or debasement; as, on the whole, the surest test and most correct measure of the civilization of a people or an age." This is true, and is often urged as an argument in *favor* of female suffrage; but it certainly is not, unless it can be shown that suffrage would elevate rather than debase the sex. The facts to which we have already alluded make it appear more probable that suffrage would produce a mental and moral *debasement* of women, rather than any thing else; hence, this becomes an argument *against* female suffrage.

We have already said, that we have no doubt

that it would be possible, by training, to make the sexes *more* alike than they are now ; but we cannot see any reason for thinking such a change desirable, while there are several reasons against it. In the first place, men and women have been found more alike in barbarous and half-civilized tribes than anywhere else. Among enlightened nations, the distinctive characteristics of the sexes have not been disregarded. It is no argument against distinction of sex, that some nations have forced them farther apart than they ought to be. When we find that they have been freest from restraint, and most highly educated, then we find them to a great degree unlike. Of course, there are limits ; but any thing which tends to make the sexes to any considerable extent more alike than they are now will promote discord. We assert this on the strength of the well-known principle which is embodied in the proverb that two persons who are alike can never agree. We often see two persons widely differing in their characteristics, who are life-long friends. We do not believe that strong and lasting love or friendship is possible, unless each possesses some excellence that the other does not. Of course the minds of men and women should not be so unlike that there could be no point of contact. We can-

not help thinking that this *reciprocal* superiority of the sexes is a beneficent arrangement of the Creator; and without it this world would become a great scene of discord and contention. We sometimes see a ludicrous kind of harmony, where the man becomes a woman, and the woman a man. If an effeminate man wishes a happy life, he must secure a masculine woman for a wife.



## **CHAPTER VI.**

### **THE TEACHINGS OF THE BIBLE.**

**A**S infidelity has become unpopular in name, the ingenuity of man has contrived to conceal its principles under popular names. It is so completely disguised, and mixed with the ideas of the age, that when it comes to Christians under the name of *progress*, many of them are led to imbibe its principles. This most dangerous form of infidelity does not openly assail the Bible and Christianity, but has a very shrewd method of letting them alone, and leading their devotees to adopt principles which are opposed to the spirit of Bible truth. Some of them have been well described as "having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof." But Christians seem to have forgotten that they are commanded to turn away from such. The most deceitful method of evading the teachings of the Bible is to claim that the Old Testament has been superseded; when everybody ought

to know that only the *ceremonial* law has passed away ; that the main portion of the Old Testament has as much force now as ever. Nor is there any conflict between the two divisions of the Bible.

We cannot avoid thinking that the clergymen of the present day are, to a great extent, responsible for the ignorance which prevails in regard to the Bible, and the state of public opinion which makes it so easy for concealed infidelity to insinuate itself into the minds of Christians. It does no good to denounce these evils, so long as the proper method of hindering them is discarded. It has become rather unpopular to preach *doctrine* ; and some ministers have formed a sort of compromise between Christ and the world, and try to preach in such a manner that they will offend neither. The result is a series of religious essays, which are good in themselves, but have no *point* to them, or, if there is any, it is so rounded that nobody *feels* it. If a young man who has attended church faithfully all his life goes out into the world, and comes in contact with a man who calls himself a *liberal*, instead of an infidel, he is easily led astray, because he has never had the truths or doctrines of the Bible explained to him ; while the " *liberal* " is well informed on the whole sub-

ject. Ministers of the gospel should be the *teachers and instructors* of the people, so that any of their hearers would be able to defend the truth. It is true that they cannot be such if they burden themselves by *writing* two sermons each week. If they would spend their time in preparing the matter of their sermons, they would soon be able to express themselves in such a manner that their hearers would understand them. Is it not better to have two good ideas expressed in a respectable way than to have one written out faultlessly? If a young man who has always listened to Orthodox preaching goes abroad and becomes a Unitarian, his old pastor feels hurt and troubled. Perhaps he may have *declaimed* the doctrine of the Trinity a thousand times, but had never presented the arguments on both sides to his hearers, so that any one would be able to defend the truth which he believes. We think that a great part of the heresy which some ministers declaim against can be accounted for from these two causes: superficiality *necessarily* produced by writing sermons, and the fear of preaching doctrine. If a minister does justice to the *matter* of his sermons, and still writes them out, he is obliged to work so hard that his health breaks down in a few years. There are many

such, although we fear that the former class is the larger. These thoughts were suggested by the loose ideas of the Bible which are so prevalent. These remarks are intended for those who need them ; and others, who do not, will, we trust, reiterate them.

If any of our readers do not believe that the Bible is from God, we have nothing to say to them here. If we should ever write any thing on the inspiration of the Scriptures, we would notice their arguments. To those who profess to believe the Bible, we would say, that they cannot consistently discard any of its truths. They must accept them as they are. Explanations are admissible ; but they must be reasonable, and have some foundation. An objectionable passage cannot be thrown aside by simply saying, “ It *may* mean this, or *perhaps* it had that signification.” When the Bible is quoted in regard to woman’s position, there is usually no attempt made to answer ; but it is thought enough to say that the Bible was quoted to sustain slavery. Now, this is merely an evasion. The Bible does or does not sustain slavery. It does teach that one sex should occupy one position, and the other another position, or it does *not* teach this. Each question must stand or fall on its own

merits. The reference to slavery is only a cheap device to evade the question. If any man or woman does not believe the Bible, the world should know it. No one ought to hold an opinion that he is ashamed to proclaim to the world.

We shall endeavor to show that the Bible teaches the unity and inviolability of the family, and a distinction of sex as wide as that which exists in the United States ; while both man and woman are bound to obey the same law, and the rights of one are regarded of as much importance as those of the other. The unity of the family is taught in Gen. ii. 23, 24, and in some other parts of the Old Testament ; while this passage is quoted and commented upon in several places in the New Testament. The punishment for adultery is death ; and there are other facts which tend to show that those who do any thing to degrade the family relation must meet the vengeance of the Great Lawgiver. The Innovators are not fighting against man merely, but against God ; and they must take the consequences. Adultery was the only ground for a divorce. The divorce laws of some States make marriage little if any better than concubinage ; and, if the Innovators could have their way, it would not be

long before marriage would be little better in one respect than it is in Utah, where anybody, for any reason or without reason, can get a divorce for the moderate sum of ten dollars! The law of God is as binding to-day as it was when given to Moses. These crimes bring with them their own punishment; and, if we wish to escape from numerous evils, we must go back to the divine law.

Throughout the Bible, the husband is regarded as the head and protector of the family, and there is no provision for separate interests. If the following passage occurred in any modern statute, the Innovators would denounce it as a barbarism: "If men strive, or hurt a woman with child, so that her fruit depart from her, and yet no mischief follow, he shall surely be punished, according as the woman's husband will lay upon him; and he shall pay as the judges determine" (Ex. xxi. 22). If we regard the husband and wife as two, as some modern laws do, it would look as though the husband was to make money out of the wife's misfortune; but the husband and wife are one: hence, any money paid to one was paid to both. There was but one fund. Then, why not let the wife take the offender before the judges, and claim damages? Simply because it is a

husband's *duty* to protect the members of his family, and take any offender before the magistrates.

The family government is older than any other. The patriarchal grew out of this, as men then lived to such an age that their posterity would sometimes form a large tribe. This is the only form of government of which we have much knowledge, until the Israelites came out of Egypt. We are not speaking of the surrounding nations, which were governed by absolute monarchs. We wish to examine the form of government as God established it. We find that matters of importance were laid first before the *elders*, and by them referred to the people. The elders were all men. We do not find women among the rulers or magistrates, in any position, although there were some places which they might have filled as well as they can now. It does not avail any thing to say that it was a rude age, as men and women were both rude; and any adaptation of government to their condition must apply to one sex the same as to the other. In Num. ii. 2, 4, the number of elders is mentioned as seventy. In Num. xxvi. we find an enumeration of the several clans, or general families, into which the tribes were

subdivided. There would be about one elder to each of these families, if we suppose that there was one extra chosen from each tribe. It is not certain how the elders were elected, but, so far as there is any evidence, it seems more probable that they were chosen by the heads of the several families. We find that the family is always taken as a basis. There is no evidence to show that women took any part in government, while there are many indications that every thing of the nature was in the hands of men. A young man did not probably reach majority at any fixed age, but at marriage, which may have taken place, on the average, when the man was much older than he generally is now.

The priesthood was composed entirely of men, and the judges and prophets were men, with a very few exceptions. Here, as elsewhere, the exceptions prove the rule. The position of prophetess seems to be more congenial to a woman's nature than those positions from which she was excluded ; and the fact that God honored some women by speaking through them is enough to show that they were not, in *some* respects, made subordinate to men, because they were, on the whole, inferior to men. Woman's position relative to man was about the same as

it is now ; yet they were, before the law, treated as the equals of men. Although there was this distinction of sex, as there is now, there was no regulation or custom lawful which had any tendency to degrade woman, or deprive her of any of her *natural* excellence. The management of public affairs was in the hands of men. Miriam led the women in singing and dancing ; but she was not satisfied with this pre-eminence. She seemed to have the modern idea of *woman's rights*, as she tried to form a conspiracy against Moses, for which she was smitten with leprosy. This was not a very propitious beginning for the cause which has now become an important movement. There are many at the present time who conspire against Moses. They may do some harm, yet no one need fear that they will finally triumph. Some have become so wise, that they think God has changed his plans since the time of Moses. They do not believe him when he says, "I am the Lord, I change not." Men change, but their Maker does not. It was regarded so unnatural a thing that a woman should rule, that it is spoken of as an evil to be lamented, and an evidence of disorganization (Is. iii. 12).

In the whole of the Old Testament, the distinction of sex is not lost sight of, nor can it be

at any time, without injustice to woman as well as man. When the curse is pronounced, there is one for woman and another for man. *The same* curse would not have affected both equally. It is a very narrow interpretation which makes the language of the curse upon man refer merely to the difficulties in the way of his cultivating the soil. Thorns and thistles are fit emblems of the difficulties which man must encounter in any occupation. The struggles and trials of woman are of a different nature. She is obliged to endure evils from which he is free; while there are others which she avoids, and he encounters. It is useless for either sex to try to avoid the curse. If they escape one difficulty, they meet with a worse; hence it is better to take patiently what is inevitable. Many of the evils which the Innovators complain of cannot be avoided, and their complaining and fault-finding only tend to make the morose more discontented and miserable. It is no evidence that women are worse treated than men, because we find that they are subjected to some evils which do not fall to the lot of the other sex. We must look at the other side, and see how many conflicts men pass through which women escape. When man is delivered from the curse of a broken law, woman will be also, and not before.

The visionary may picture to themselves the peace and happiness which they expect to prevail when woman votes and occupies all the lucrative positions which men do ; but, if they could see such a time, they would be sadly disappointed. Perhaps woman's condition can be made better than it is now (we trust and hope that it will) ; but it cannot be improved as much as some expect, until the millennium comes.

In the New Testament we find evidences of the regard and esteem which Christ and the apostles had for woman ; yet there is the same distinction of sex. Only men are commissioned to preach ; and, through the whole, it is evident that the sphere of woman was regarded as about the same as it is now by all except the Innovators. Christ came to break *every* yoke ; and, if he had found woman abused as much as some say she is, he would have set the example by choosing them to preach, or in some way would have condemned the existing customs. It is a cheap and blasphemous evasion to say that he yielded to and thereby encouraged the prejudices of the times. He did not hesitate to trample on their prejudices in other matters. He called them hypocrites, and denounced them as a generation of vipers. He drove the money-changers out of the temple, and never hesitated to

condemn any of their time-honored customs when he found them wrong. He chose the apostles from the poor, the ignorant, and the despised ; and, if he had ever intended that women should preach, he would have chosen them also. If there is any reason why a woman should preach now, there was then. They certainly have *no authority* for entering the pulpit. We need not a word from the epistles of Paul or Peter to decide whether women should become preachers. But, when we have their words *against* such a course, we do not see how any woman dare enter the pulpit as the servant of her Saviour. We sometimes admire a person who defies public opinion ; but there is such an enormous inconsistency in professing to serve God, and at the same time defying his Word, that the very thought ought to make one shudder. We can throw the cloak of charity over any thing else which the Innovators advocate, except encouraging women to preach the gospel. Infidelity may be consistent, but this cannot be. We do not care how honest those women are who preach ; they must be held accountable for what they *can* know : the Bible is plain enough, unless they *refuse* to see the truth. If people profess to follow their own ideas of woman's sphere, that is one thing :

if they profess to follow the Bible, that is another.

The passages which place a veto on woman's preaching are 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35, and 1 Tim. ii. 11-15. Some have endeavored to evade these passages by saying that they had a special meaning at the time they were written; but there is not a particle of proof that such was the case. They might as well claim that the command to husbands to love their wives was a *temporary* command. The historical references plainly show that he states a general principle, and one applicable in all ages. He refers to the law, and the creation and fall of the race. We saw a newspaper article not long since, which disposed of these passages with an ease that was really laughable, by saying that the whole world disregarded the command that woman should not *teach!* By taking two or three words without their connection, we can make the Bible teach almost any doctrine. No candid man will claim, on reading these passages, that women are commanded not to teach, in the sense that they were not to instruct their children, or perform the duties of an instructor for others. If that was the meaning, a mother would, even *at that time*, be doing wrong if she taught the Lord's Prayer to her children. We find

this word, *διδασκω*, used when Christ *taught* his disciples the truths of Christianity. We find the same Greek word used in many instances where reference is made, not to an exhortation which a believer might give to others, but where the apostles, or any one occupying the position that an ordained minister now does, addressed the people, or *preached* to them. The pastors were the teachers of their flocks. It seems most probable, then, that the reference in these passages is not to what might be said in a prayer-meeting, but to speaking with authority, or *teaching* the people as a pastor is supposed to do. Women were to keep silence in the *churches*, not everywhere. We do not believe that a fair construction would convey the idea that a woman must keep silence in a social prayer-meeting ; but the passages cannot be fairly interpreted to mean less than that women should not occupy the position of a public *teacher* or preacher of the gospel.

If the instructions in the New Testament to husbands and wives were followed, there would be no occasion for family trouble. If any person reads the passages in regard to husbands and wives, with a mind overflowing with notions of *individual rights*, they seem strange and unaccountable. If he reads them with the mind

thoroughly impressed with the idea that husband and wife are one, their interests one, and remember that they ought to forget that they have individual rights, and do all in their power for each other's happiness, then there is nothing harsh or strange in any of these passages. "Let the husband render unto the wife due benevolence, and likewise also the wife unto the husband. The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband" (1 Cor. vii. 3, 4). This does not sound much like the doctrine of *rights* which is proclaimed by the Innovators. They would probably ridicule and scout such doctrine if found elsewhere. But let us see the rest of the passage: "And likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife." He loses his individuality at marriage, as well as the wife. Any husband, who, in business or in any thing else, acts simply for his own interests, without regard to wife or children, is false to the marriage relation. Any action on the part of husband or wife, simply for *self*, is contrary to the spirit and teachings of Christianity, and subversive of peace and harmony. There are some women delivering lectures through the country, with the object of impressing upon the minds of women the *duty* of attending to their own wants and wishes *first*, and

then, if they see fit to be so benevolent, they can do something for their husbands. Whether we should obey God or *such women*, judge ye, who profess to be Christians. These women may justly condemn any man who does not place his wife before himself. The world should make it unpopular and despicable for a husband to place his own comfort or his own welfare before his wife's; and should not the same spirit on the part of the wife be condemned also?

For further instruction to husbands and wives, we refer the reader to 1 Cor. xi. 11, 12; Eph. v. 22-33; and 1 Pet. iii. 1-7. If we disregard the natural difference between the sexes, and place individual rights above the family relation, these passages are inexplicable; but if we do not, there is no difficulty in them. They do not contain a minute analysis of *all* the duties of husbands and wives, but they warn them against those evils and errors into which they would be most likely to fall. The present movement, against which we are contending, is a proof that these warnings were not superfluous. The husband is commanded to love and cherish the wife as Christ does the church, which would involve the idea that he must sacrifice his life for her if necessary. He is reminded that any wrong done to the wife would be as unnatural

as it would be to injure himself, for they are *one*. It must not be forgotten that the superiority of strength belongs to the husband ; and this was given him not merely for his own good, but that he might the better serve and protect his wife. The honor which the husband owes to the wife is not that which belongs to an inferior. The last verse referred to is not so translated as to convey the meaning of the original. We will not give an exact translation, but the meaning seems to be something like this : " Likewise, ye husbands, live with your wives as wisdom teaches ; while they are inferior to you in strength, give them honor, since they are your equals as heirs of the grace of life." As immortal beings they are worthy of honor : their souls are of as much value as man's. The homage which men pay to women at the present time ought to satisfy them. They are respected and *honored* more than men are by each other. If women are slaves, they occupy a more queenly position than slaves ever held before.

The wife is warned not to take the husband's place, although he " obey not the word." She is reminded that she can gain or win her husband by her deportment. Her *power* lies in this direction ; and, if she wishes to succeed, she must use it. Through the whole of the New Testa-

ment the distinction of sex is kept up, yet the highest and purest regard for woman is inculcated. This cannot be explained unless we grant that this distinction of sex is *natural*. The only just and equal arrangement is that which is adapted to woman's natural capacity and tendency. We can know what this is, not from extremes, but from the inclination and desires of the majority. It is presumption for men or women to pretend to know better what is for their good than their Maker.



## CHAPTER VII.

## WOMAN'S SPHERE.

 HERE is more truth in the remark that Nature will take care of herself than those who use the expression sometimes imagine. The reason that the Innovators do not make some of their schemes work is because she *does* take care of herself. Prejudice often gets the credit of doing some things, and hindering the performance of others, when Nature is really the stubborn conservative that directs these affairs. There are special reasons why the minority of women cannot follow their own inclinations, if they wish to enter the pulpit or engage in politics, as we have already seen. But, aside from these, the minority of women who wish to engage in masculine employments can be allowed to fight their way wherever they are able, without the necessity of hinderance from the public. We have our opinion that they cannot succeed in certain positions; yet, if they

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of the subject may make **some** difference, but the majority of those who **accept** theories will practise as before. Insurance against fire costs much less in the country than **in a city**; and is theoretically as necessary and **expedient** in proportion to the expense; yet it is **not** an uncommon thing for buildings to be **uninsured**, although but a trifle is saved; simply because fires are rare, and men feel that there is but little danger. In a city, where the **danger** is great, a man would hardly risk a building **over night** without insurance. If twice as **many** women were likely to remain single as **now**, there would be twice as many seeking **employment** for life. The great majority of **men** and women make preparation merely **for** probabilities, while only the few look out **for** possibilities. It is true that this *ought not to* be so; yet we have no reason to expect that human nature can be so changed that this **order** will be reversed.

It needs but little argument to show **that** the wife should not generally do more **than attend** to the household affairs, while the **husband** earns the means of support. Only **a few** cynical people will claim that **marriage** is not desirable. Statistics show that the **married** are, on the average, longer lived than the **single**;

can prove to the world that we are mistaken, there is no reason why they should not be allowed to try. The great difficulty which the Innovators will be obliged to contend with is not in the obstacles thrown in the way by public opinion, but that they cannot find the necessary number of women to make the experiments. Nature is stronger than exaggerated statements or discontented spirits, male or female, who wish to tear society in pieces and build anew. Let us examine the nature of the circumstances, and see if *prejudice* is the only foe to the measures which we have recently been told should be adopted.

Under the most favorable circumstances which could be expected, so long as the family relation exists, only a very few women can ever be persuaded to practise law or medicine, or engage in any occupations for life, except those in which they are already engaged. This is simply because the great majority of women sooner or later become wives. It does no good, or comparatively little good, to theorize, and show that learning a trade does not hinder a woman's becoming a good wife. The number who will take the advice will always be in proportion to the chance of being obliged to resort to self-support. Perhaps the agitation

of the subject may make some difference, but the majority of those who accept theories will practise as before. Insurance against fire costs much less in the country than in a city; and is theoretically as necessary and expedient in proportion to the expense ; yet it is not an uncommon thing for buildings to be uninsured, although but a trifle is saved ; simply because fires are rare, and men feel that there is but little danger. In a city, where the danger is great, a man would hardly risk a building over night without insurance. If twice as many women were likely to remain single as now, there would be twice as many seeking employment for life. The great majority of men and women make preparation merely for probabilities, while only the few look out for possibilities. It is true that this *ought not* to be so ; yet we have no reason to expect that human nature can be so changed that this order will be reversed.

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and the social and moral influence of *home* is superior to that which surrounds those who have none. If wives have time to do more than attend to household affairs, it ought to be devoted to their intellectual development, rather than to a profession or trade. To those who have the talent, there are several intellectual pursuits which are not inconsistent with household cares; but no considerable number of married women would ever become lawyers, physicians, or merchants, even if they were as well adapted to those pursuits as men are. No one can be hired to take care of a household and attend to children as faithfully as the mother herself. But let us examine the probabilities of success, if women try to achieve eminence in the same field that men now occupy.

In regard to the legal profession, we quote the following from Mrs. Dall's lecture on "English Common Law": "Women often have occasion to smile, sometimes sadly, sometimes mischievously, at the verdicts passed upon their own sex. If women were to enter the practice of the law, or become law-makers, an immense change would take place in all that relates to it. Absurd technicalities would be swept off its papers. One hundred words

would no longer do duty for one. Simple, common-sense forms of expression would take the place of obsolete Latin and Norman French. Daylight would be let into indictments, and flaws would soon be hard to find. No woman ever existed whose patience would stand, in cases where meaning and law are evident, the absurd delays of chancery courts, or the still surer ‘filing of objections,’ or ‘defining of terms,’ with which lawyers amuse a jury, and which Sir Leicester Dedlock, we are told, considered as the bulwarks of the English constitution. This impatience of women might not be very valuable, if she were to legislate alone; but, controlled by man’s conservative caution, it would be of the greatest service.”

Mrs. D. had been reading law, it seems, to prepare her lecture; and the above amounts to nothing more nor less than a confession that law is not adapted to woman’s nature, hence a change is necessary. If the “impatience” of woman is to be the valuable addition to law and politics, the country can get along without it. The speed which we can obtain by the use of steam is good for the railroad, but is hardly desirable in the framing or execution of laws. We think that most women would find the

study and practice of law rather dry and uncongenial to their nature. The surroundings at the bar would not be attractive to most women. Is there any probability that they would honor themselves or benefit the world by engaging in the legal profession?

In the medical profession woman can engage more appropriately, without unsexing herself. There are some departments of the practice of medicine, in which women could engage very appropriately ; and there would probably be a demand for them. But a woman can never be a successful surgeon unless she crushes her emotional nature, which is so strongly developed that her nerves spontaneously sympathize with any kind of suffering. A successful surgeon and true woman will very rarely be found to coincide and form the same person. This is *a priori* reasoning, we admit, as we have obtained no information in regard to those women who have practised surgery. We not unfrequently hear women say that they think there ought to be female physicians ; yet we rarely find one who would on any account become one herself. The number of female physicians will probably be larger in a few years than it is now ; yet, compared with the number of male physicians, it must always remain small, as only

a few women have any inclination to engage in the profession.

In the study of law or medicine, it can hardly be considered desirable that the sexes be educated together. In denouncing institutions because they will not admit women, there is an unreasonable strong-headedness which is worse than any conservatism. The supply of institutions for educating women for a profession will be equal to the demand. In the study of medicine, most women will prefer to be educated by themselves, unless they have an extra amount of boldness, which we usually call *brass*. It is unreasonable to denounce everybody as the enemy of woman who does not adopt every educational scheme proposed by the Innovators. In any labor or profession, the indiscriminate mingling of the sexes must be productive of evil consequences. It is true that women ought to be as highly educated as men; but it does not follow that every college should be thrown open to them. There are some strong arguments in favor of educating the sexes together, and there are some very strong ones against it. The Innovators would command more respect if they could only see that there are two sides to this question, instead of denouncing their opponents as the servants of an unreasonable prejudice.

If there is an increasing number of young women who wish for a college education, there will be institutions ready to receive them. The great difficulty is this: but few wish for as good an education as men receive. They generally prefer a shorter course. If we can impress upon the people the importance of developing the mind for its own sake, there will be a point gained in favor of female education. The idea is too prevalent among men that they must merely get as limited an education as possible, to enable them to perform the duties of an instrument: that is, to fill some place, so that they can serve others, and thereby get a living. Few men seek for an education for the sake of expanding their minds. We Americans are too much absorbed in the material prosperity of our country. We must remember that the soul is of infinitely more value than any thing else. It is true that we must take care of our bodies; but we should not stop here. Perhaps women will never be persuaded to seek as high an education as men do; but any thing which contributes to elevate mental culture for its own sake will have that tendency. Too many men are narrow-minded and ignorant outside of their professions. They merely obtain what knowledge they *need* to follow their vocation.

But very few women wish to become public speakers; yet we can safely allow Nature to take care of herself. If there are exceptions who wish to try the experiment, they will succeed if they have the ability: if they have not, then they must fail. At present, there is in some places a mania for female lecturers; and a mediocre address by a woman is worth more than a first-rate production by a man. There is something novel about it; and people are, for the time, led to lay aside their judgment, and over-estimate the talents of some favorites. But this matter will take care of itself. In a few years, every woman as well as every man who lectures will stand or fall on her own ability. We venture the assertion, that those women will be the most popular in five years from this time who have the least to say about *woman's rights*. People like a good sharp scolding for variety, but it becomes rather disgusting if continued. Some women have made so many extravagant assertions in public, that they will not be listened to when they tell the plain truth a few years hence. No one need be troubled at the present indications of some portions of the country. There will be a reaction, since the Innovators are doing too much for their own success. It is an old proverb,

that whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad.

As a writer, there is an open field for woman, and she will doubtless play an important part in the literature of the next hundred years. The female writers of our country are now numbered by hundreds, and some of them are not merely celebrated in this country, but throughout the world. Literature is better adapted to woman's nature than any other field of intellectual labor; and she can obtain the same price for her productions that man can for his. The influence which is exerted over the public mind by woman's pen is greater than all others which she can use directly. Public opinion is moulded indirectly by woman's social power, to an extent which is almost immeasurable.

The number of women who will engage in the high intellectual pursuits to which we have already referred will probably never exceed a few hundred, and can never have any material effect on the thousands of women who are obliged to earn their own living. Besides, they will come mostly from those who are not obliged to earn their own support, but do so from choice.

We will now note some of the circumstances of those women who are obliged to labor from

year to year for very small wages, and see what changes are possible and what are desirable. It does no good to denounce the public for their prejudices, and theorize about how things *ought* to be. Political economy treats the poor girl in great want just as well as the rich girl who needs nothing, but no better. These laws are impartial, but merciless. Any thing that is done to make the circumstances of the unfortunate better must either be done in the way of charity, or by some general change in the labor-market which will benefit all engaged in a certain way, whether needy or not.

This subject of female labor is a great question; yet there is much talk about it by people who have little or no knowledge of the principles involved. There are probably thousands of men and women in the United States who believe, that if *prejudice* were removed, and women allowed to engage in the same employments as men, the price of female labor would soon be as high as man's. We should judge, from the remarks of *some* of the Innovators, that they have not yet learned that the price of labor depends mainly upon supply and demand, although the most of them seem to have learned this. But a great majority of the people do not exactly seem to understand *why* a woman

receives less pay for teaching, when she does a certain amount of work as well as a man does. Abstract justice seems to say that she should receive the same pay. If the wheat-crop is large, and the potato-crop small, the former will be cheap and the latter dear, no matter what the relative amount of nourishment each contains. If the order of abundance is reversed the next year, the relative prices will be changed accordingly. Now, this same principle is involved in the relative prices of male and female labor. If a woman gets only one hundred dollars where a man can get two for the same labor, it is because there are twice as many women competing in that field as there are men. If one woman says this is unjust, and refuses to work unless she can get as much as man, another steps in and offers to do the labor at the market-price. They compete with each other ; and there is no remedy for this, unless one-half of the women can be engaged in some other field of labor, when the half who remain will get the same wages that men do for the same amount of labor performed as well. Can the number of feminine employments be so increased that woman will receive the same compensation for her services that man does for his ? We shall endeavor to show, that, as society is now constituted, this cannot be, and is not desirable.

We will suppose that the prejudice in regard to female employments is entirely removed, and women encouraged to engage in any and every employment. Still, there are many kinds of labor which women are not adapted to perform, and never will engage in voluntarily. They are now employed in almost every capacity that they *can* fill or *desire* to fill. It must be remembered that only a very few women wish to engage in any occupation for life: hence they only occupy those positions which they can learn to fill in a short time. If women engage in mercantile business, they can make the same profits that men do; yet they rarely make the trial, and this must always continue, for two reasons. In the first place, those women who are obliged to earn their own living rarely have the capital; secondly, they prefer to work for small wages rather than make any permanent arrangement. We have not here taken into consideration whether they have the natural capacity for business that men have. The most lucrative positions are those which are permanent. Those men who work for only a short time in a place generally receive comparatively small compensation. As the majority of laboring women do not seek permanent positions, custom places some of those, which they might

otherwise occupy, in the hands of men; and when any woman who is qualified obtains employment for a term of years, she must take the consequences of the condition of other laboring women who receive small wages, because they are engaged in the odds and ends of labor. She may get more than she would in less responsible situations; yet she cannot obtain as much as a man, on account of the *general* market-price of female labor.

If a woman goes to some part of the country where women are scarce, she can get large wages. In the rough mining regions, and more remote sections of California, a female teacher can obtain higher wages in a small school than she can in a more responsible position in the same State, where the regular routine of civilized life is established. The same is true in other parts of the country. In those sections where women are superabundant, the price of their labor is greatly reduced; while it is correspondingly dear where there are more men than women. The current of westward emigration has taken more young men from the Eastern States than young women: hence the amount of female labor in the market, in some portions of the country, is more than is needed; and this has caused a reduction in the price of their

labor, or, what is the same thing, has hindered an advance to correspond with that which has been made in male labor. It must be remembered that this is not a permanent evil, although it may continue for years, unless something can be done to provide for a more equal distribution of the sexes throughout the different parts of the country. If any thing is done for the relief of laboring women, it must be done in accordance with the laws of political economy.

Now, what have the Innovators done for the *practical* relief of women who are laboring on starvation wages? They have denounced the public, and accused everybody, except themselves, of injustice; in short, they have made a great noise, excited discontented women, and done all in their power to precipitate them into public employments, and thereby increased the amount of suffering and crime, instead of elevating the sex. They have raised the cry of "fire!" but have done nothing to extinguish the flames. They have called the attention of the public to a difficulty, but have only increased the confusion, so that laboring women are devouring each other. Since they know nothing of the laws of political economy, the course which they think for the best is really the most ruinous. These are grave charges to make

against those who profess to be reformers ; but let us look at the facts, and see if we have been too severe. We do not accuse the Innovators of *intending* to aggravate the evils against which they declaim ; but their intemperate zeal and unreasonable language have produced these results.

It has been in this way : they have denounced and ridiculed public opinion for considering *housework* the principal occupation of woman ; hence they have made it *more* disreputable for a young woman to become a family servant. For this reason, young women have imbibed enough of the woman's-rights movement to go out into the world and engage in any employment rather than housework. The wages of servants have so advanced that foreign girls have been tempted to this country, and are now our cooks and housekeepers. In some places women will work with the needle at \$2.00 a week, and board themselves, rather than engage as servants at \$3.00 a week, with good board and lodgings. There are two causes which make housework so disreputable. In the first place, those who employ servants take unnecessary and unnatural pains to make them feel the inferiority of their position ; secondly, the Innovators are doing all in their power to persuade women to go out into the world and engage in something higher (!) than housework.

Now, we wish to do nothing to hinder a woman of superior mental capacity from engaging in the highest occupation which she can fill. But she needs no encouragement. Genius will take care of itself. The Innovators forget the sneering remark which they have so often made to their opponents, "Nature will take care of herself: why are you so solicitous to assist her?" A woman of great natural ability will take care of herself. There is no need of going through the country, and warning the people to get out of her way! Women of genius and common sense do not stand still and scold about the obstacles in *their* path. No man or woman ever achieved eminence without overcoming difficulties. Prejudice is only one of the minor hinderances which they have met with. Nobody believes that a certain man or woman has genius, until it is seen by its effects. We need less talk and more action, before the world will believe all the Innovators say. Let them show us some practical good results, before they claim to be the friends of woman.

We take the following from an article in "Appletons' Journal," Sept. 4, by Catherine E. Beecher: "In Massachusetts, during the last ten years, among the men of that State, crime decreased at the rate of 8,507 less than during

the ten preceding years, while, among women, crime increased at the rate of 368 during the same period ; that is, over 8,000 *less* men, and over 300 *more* woman, were guilty of crime than in the previous ten years."

In this State, the Innovators, during this time, have probably held more meetings and exerted more influence than in any other State in the Union. Is this the kind of a reformation we are to have ? They have told the public that low wages cause prostitution. A poor woman, who has hitherto been virtuous, reads or hears one of these statements, and takes it (as it really is) as a sort of an excuse or partial justification for becoming a harlot ; hence she yields to the tempter. Another desires money for fine clothes, and would partially justify herself and take encouragement from such remarks. Proclaiming such doctrines has a tendency to lead women to shirk individual responsibility, and justify themselves in committing any crime. The women of Massachusetts have been told a thousand times by the Innovators that they were crushed, oppressed, and down-trodden ; and that the men were really guilty of *causing* the crimes which they committed. It is a characteristic of human nature, for a guilty person to try to shirk the responsibility on to

somebody else. So long as this can be done, there is an encouragement to *continue* in crime. Women will become worse and worse so long as they are encouraged in wickedness by being told that *men* are responsible for their crimes. If a woman loses her virtue, the Innovators take for granted that she has been seduced by some man who is *entirely* to blame, while she is to be held guiltless. In some cases, perhaps in a majority, the man is more guilty than the woman; in others, the woman is the seducer. There is probably not one case in a hundred in which both are not, to a great extent, guilty and blamable. If women are to be made better, they must be made to feel that they are responsible to God and the world for their own sins, and cannot excuse themselves by laying the blame on man or society. We believe that man ought to be more blamed and stigmatized by society than he is now, and severely punished by law; but is there any reason why it should be made *more* respectable for a woman to lose her virtue than it is now? Society has for a long time been wrong in being too lenient with men who have acted the part of seducers; but the Innovators, in this matter as in most others, have acted on the wrong principle: They have tried to excuse women, and

make these "unfortunate" ones more respectable in society. They have not said, and cannot easily say, any thing too severe against men for committing such crimes, except as they misrepresent the *relative* wickedness of the two sexes.

In regard to Hester Vaughan, the young woman of Philadelphia, who was guilty of infanticide, no one could justly find fault with presenting to the public the extenuating circumstances which made the crime less heinous. But facts were not enough: the whole affair was exaggerated, and the criminal was made a sort of heroine, a martyr to the cause of woman's rights. Does not such conduct tend to encourage like crimes? The effect upon the public is much better when there is a calm and candid presentation of the facts, than when they are presented in a sensational, theatrical, or exaggerated manner.

When the good influences in a State like Massachusetts have been so great as to decrease crime among men, so that there were more than eight thousand *less* criminals in ten years, while there were three hundred *more* female criminals in the same time, there is need of investigation. There is *some* cause for this. If the Innovators say, that it is caused by low wages, we reply, that their agitation has led

young women from the fireside, to engage in more public pursuits; and this has produced a depreciation in the price of female labor, so that, both directly and indirectly, they have increased crime and suffering among women. Where can they show any good results to the laboring classes from their boasted reform? Perhaps there are some, but they are small compared with the evil. Do not come before the world, and excuse the matter on the plea of *good intentions*. We want proof that you are not crazy and fanatical. Do not compare yourselves to Garrison and Phillips, in the anti-slavery conflict. They never exaggerated or misstated facts. They never lost their reasoning powers. It is true they have argued in favor of female suffrage, but their language has been quite unlike that which has characterized the movement in this country as a whole. As we have not heard much from them lately, in connection with the Innovators, we have conjectured that they do not like the management of some persons, and are becoming disgusted with the intemperate manner in which the innovation is managed. This is only a *conjecture*, and may have no truth in it.

We have had a plenty of talk, and the starvation prices of female labor have been

publicly noticed and declaimed against a thousand times by the Innovators ; but what have they done towards procuring a remedy ? They have discovered that an increase in the number of female employments will raise the price of their labor, as the number of competitors will then be less in any one department ; but they have not examined circumstances, to see how far this is *possible*, if we grant that it is desirable. They have confused public opinion, so that nobody knows what to do to attain a desired result. If they will, each and all, purchase a work on political economy, and study it thoroughly, they will learn that neither loud talk nor female suffrage will assist laboring women. They will also learn that the course they have thus pursued has made matters worse. If they had done something to change public opinion, so that it would be considered more honorable for girls to engage in housework, they would have done something for the relief of destitute women. It ought to be made disreputable for any woman to be *ignorant* of the art of cooking, and managing a household ; for this must always be the main employment of women, and there will always be a demand for good cooks. Those who have degraded, by sneering remarks, the duties of a female house-

servant and the duties of a wife and mother, have increased the suffering of the sex, and helped establish false ideas of true womanhood. Public opinion must be so changed that female servants will be allowed a higher social position ; and it *ought* to be so changed that it would be considered disreputable for a young woman to be ignorant of the duties of a house-wife, or unwilling to perform them when necessary or convenient. Of course a servant is often necessary ; but, when a wife has only herself and husband, it is often more work to look after a servant than to take care of her own house. If the Innovators can make the position of a cook in a family even desirable, they will then do something practical and beneficial to women as a class. This is not impossible, for the occupation was considered respectable in the days of our mothers and grandmothers. If some people would cease a certain kind of talking and complaining, and use rational common-sense language and measures, these evils could be removed or greatly decreased in a few years. When the Innovators do something practical for poor women, it will be granted that they are the real friends of the sex ; and public prejudice against them will doubtless cease.

Let us now examine some of the facts, and ascertain, if possible, the condition of the class needing relief, and the remedies available. In the first place, only a few women seek employment for life. The laborers are young girls, widows, married women who have met with domestic trouble in some shape, and a few older unmarried women. The great majority of them have little or no education, and many of them have met with trouble in some way, so that their minds are more or less unfit for engaging in pursuits which require a clear head and skilful hand. Open all the avenues to employment possible, still they cannot compete with men. When a young man starts out in life, he can obtain but a mere pittance, even where there is a fair prospect for him in future years. A boy is always obliged to take the odds and ends of work, and can never get as good pay, according to what he does, as a man can. Now, a great proportion of laboring women seek employment for only a few years, at most, and many for only a few months, until they meet with better circumstances in some way : hence permanent positions will never be kept open for them. They will have just that position in the labor-market which they can hold, and no more.

As the great majority of educated women are either married, or engaged as teachers, it is no disparagement to woman to say that those who are left cannot compare favorably with the average male laborer: of course, we include the higher occupations. The most of these are far inferior to them, and are not capable of filling first-class positions; hence their range of employments must always be limited. Those who are qualified can generally find situations as book-keepers, or in something of that kind. But the most important fact is, that a great many women seek employment for a short time, while only a few do for life. Many intelligent girls go from the country to work in the factories for one or two years. They would not accept positions for a long time, even if they could get higher wages. But the sufferers are usually the lower classes in the cities; and only a small part of them are above mediocrity. We must, in considering this question, remember that the occupations available to those needing them are only those which can be filled by women of moderate capacity, for a short time.

Now, relief can be furnished by opening the way for some to become house-servants and cooks, by using means to keep women from collecting in large towns and cities, and by

leading them to emigrate from those portions of the country where they are in excess of the male population to others where they are less numerous. In the country towns of New England it is often difficult to obtain female servants. We have known families to be in want of one for several weeks, although all the means possible were used to find one. Now, if a society can be formed which will have agents in all parts of the country, and proper means be taken to know the condition and needs of every section, and applications be received from those women desiring employment, and those families or corporations needing female laborers, there would then be a fair prospect of improving the condition of laboring women. If some rich benevolent individuals would give money to pay for railroad-fare where it might be necessary, it would be the most economical method of relieving suffering, because a two-fold advantage would be gained: those women sent out of a crowded city would obtain employment, and those who remained would receive better wages, as there would be fewer seeking the same positions. In the whole country, there are probably no more women than needed at respectable wages; and, if this plan is practicable, it certainly would accomplish the desired end.

We believe that there is something of the kind in large cities now ; but it is necessary to include the whole country, to obtain any permanent good result. If any one has a better plan, it should be laid before the public. Something should be done to change public opinion, so that American girls would consider it an honor to obtain a position as house-servant. Work of any kind must not be considered degrading. If false notions of dignity and respectability are to be established, as they are in some European countries, then some portions of the community must either starve or beg.

There is a passage in James, which the majority of Innovators seem to have forgotten, if they ever read it: "If a brother or sister be naked, and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them, Depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled; notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to the body: what doth it profit?" They have expressed a great deal of sympathy for laboring women, but it has been nothing but talk. They have devised no practical measures for their relief. The boasted increase of the number of female employments has proved more of a curse than a blessing, as women have been led to forsake the healthy duties of a housekeeper,

and engage in unhealthy shops, where they have lost both physical and moral vigor. If this boasted reform should continue in this way ten years longer, statistics would tell a sad tale of progress towards ruin ! The world may forgive the Innovators for the harm which they have already produced, since they intended good. We fear, however, that a few were influenced by ambitious desires to make themselves famous, rather than by philanthropic motives. At all events, the public should demand, for the future, that there be more calm thought and a thorough study of the circumstances, as well as less headstrong language and action. In the antislavery conflict, those who were immediately concerned were not within the reach of the agitation ; but all classes of women feel the influence of the Innovators, and those of weak minds or small moral principle imbibe the extravagant language of the agitators, and think that the movement means license ; hence they become more reckless and wicked. If a man accidentally drops a coal of fire into a powder-magazine, it will explode as quickly as though he had done it intentionally. There is no greater heresy held by people than the idea that it makes little difference what a man believes, if he is only sincere. Sincerity has been

the ruin of thousands. It must be coupled with knowledge and wisdom, when it becomes an angel of peace and a harbinger of future good.

If we are not mistaken, whenever any thing practical has been done for the good of woman, those men and women who do not favor female suffrage have been more active than those who do. We have but little knowledge in regard to the "American Woman's Educational Association;" but, so far as we do know, we should think that the plan, if carried out, would do much to remove existing evils. At all events, something besides condemning the public, and finding fault with prejudice, must be done before woman's condition will be better.

If the plan which we have suggested should be carried out, laboring women would be in a comfortable condition; yet they would not receive as much compensation as men do. Now, some may ask, What can be done to secure for women as good wages as men obtain, in proportion to what they do? We reply, *that woman's welfare, as well as man's, requires that her wages continue to be much less than his, perhaps one-half as much.* This seems absurd and contradictory at first; but let us examine the circumstances. It must not be forgotten that the family is the

basis upon which society is built ; and the good of this institution is paramount. The family cannot be properly organized and sustained, unless the husband can earn money enough to support his wife and children, as well as himself. Society is in an unhealthy condition when the majority of wives are obliged to go abroad to earn money to help support the family. A high state of civilization is not possible under such circumstances. Children become little better than barbarians, unless they are watched and cared for. That the wife may remain at home, it is necessary for the husband to be able to earn the wages of two : so that, in one sense, women's wages are as high as men's, when they receive half as much, as what he earns belongs not to himself merely, but to the family, and is used for its support. If a man who earns his living by manual labor were obliged to pay a female servant, to assist his wife, as much as his own wages amounted to, there would be nothing left to support the family. When we take the support and education of the children into consideration, it is evident that men must have facilities in their hands, which, on the whole, enable them to procure four or five times as much as a single woman would need. Suppose a young woman gets a good education, but can earn only one-

half as much by teaching as her future husband can. Perhaps she wishes to teach a year or two to earn something to prepare her for marriage. Now, she is not expected to have much besides her wardrobe, while he is supposed to have earned money enough to buy a house; or, at least, to be in such a situation that he may have good reasons for expecting that he can support himself and wife comfortably. Now, is it not better for this young woman, that society is so constituted that she can get only small wages for a few months or years, rather than that her husband should be so situated that their family would be in straitened circumstances during their whole life?

But some one may say, "I know a girl who is obliged to support herself and two sick parents." Such cases are rare, and we cannot change the whole course of society to benefit the few. Where there is one such case, there are a thousand men who have a family to support. Shall society be organized for the good of the one, or the thousand? In this world of sin and sorrow, it is impossible to make such reforms that all can be equally provided for. The death of fathers will leave many families destitute. General remedies cannot be provided, so that all will be able to take care of themselves in adversity.

The poor must sometimes be assisted by special charities, or supported by the State. Yet we ought to take care to make these cases as rare as possible. If the Innovators desire to change society so that women can earn as much as men, and have half of the avenues to wealth in their hands, they are providing a remedy which is a thousand-fold worse than the disease. This would practically compel women to leave their homes and earn money like their husbands. It would be nothing more nor less than the destruction of the family, and the disintegration of modern society. We should have all of *individual* rights that could be desired ; for there would be nothing but individuality, since the family could no longer exist as it is now. The Innovators have undertaken more than they can accomplish ; for this little institution called the family is stronger than all the forces that can be brought against it. Men and women will defend it at all hazards. But some others may say, “We do not wish or intend any thing of this kind.” Then your schemes are not practicable, and cannot succeed. Men and women can never be on the same footing in the political and financial world ; or, more properly, single women cannot be considered of as much importance as whole families.

But some one may ask us what becomes of bachelors, on this theory. They are, to say the least, all guilty of embezzlement, perhaps not with "malice aforethought;" yet society has not merely given them facilities for self-support, but for procuring money to provide for a wife and children; and, if they use all this money for selfish purposes, it is certainly a misappropriation. If a woman prefers to remain single, notwithstanding the difficulties in her path, there does not seem to be that chance to blame her which there is in the case of a man who takes advantage of the constitution of society, and robs some woman of a support, not because his Creator made it right for him to do so, but because he *can*. If we come to strict justice, government would do right in taking half or more of a bachelor's property, and applying it to the relief of destitute women. But this, of course, would not be very practicable, as some might plead that they were preparing for marriage, and others that they had offered themselves, and been refused. When people find a rich bachelor living by himself, they have an instinctive feeling that he *ought* to share his wealth with a wife. However, many support one or more female relatives, so that they may be *pardoned* for their disregard of natural law. But this principle is certainly

involved in the constitution of modern society : that a single man has not done half his duty when he merely supports himself.

If the family relation is to be sustained on principles which will enable society to advance in every thing that pertains to genuine progress, it must be made possible for the wife to remain at home ; and how can this be, unless the husband has *extra* facilities for procuring wealth ? There are evils connected with the present system ; yet it is, after all, the best that can be devised. The good of society demands that *men* shall be the producers and managers of wealth. The evils of this arrangement have been greatly exaggerated. If laws were based upon the unity of the family, many of the present difficulties would be removed ; and the trouble to be feared from this system will be less than in any other matter with which government deals, when we take into consideration the aggregate amount of happiness involved.

Now, unless society is to be *entirely* remodeled, and founded upon individuality instead of the family, the whole tendency of the movement which the Innovators have inaugurated is to aggravate existing evils. Relief can only come from making the number of competing female laborers as small as possible. They need

not be idle ; for there is enough to be done, without sending women into the rough channels of public life. Marriage may not always be desirable, but in ordinary circumstances it is : hence, any encouragement in the way of placing unmarried men in a condition to support wives, or by making marriage honorable and respectable, would be a public benefit. It ought to be made disreputable for an honest man to remain single. The whole tendency of the innovation is to make it impossible for a laboring man to support a wife and family ; hence there is nothing strange in the fact, that prostitution and concubinage have been on the increase. The woman who has a husband has but little temptation to become a prostitute. Married men, as well as married women, are sometimes guilty of adultery ; but who can doubt that a great share of the patronage which supports the thousands of prostitutes in the country comes from unmarried men, who might be persuaded to live respectable lives if they had good wives ?

We do not care how good the private opinions of the Innovators may be in regard to the family relation : the *reform* which they are contending for is nothing more nor less than a revolt against the family, an effort to degrade humanity, and establish the customs of barbarians. Let

us see how so grave a charge can be established, when these headstrong enthusiasts are filled with love for humanity, and a desire to elevate woman, and hate none *except men!* Nominally, they are contending against men: *in reality*, they are opposing the interests of women as well as men; for they are aiming a deadly blow at the family, and setting in motion a train of circumstances or causes which tend to increase the violation of the seventh commandment, as well as all kinds of suffering, misery, and crime. It happens in this way: "It is now known that marriages bear a fixed and definite relation to the price of corn; and, in England, the experience of a century has proved, that, instead of having any connection with personal feelings, they are simply regulated by the average earnings of the great mass of the people." (Buckle, vol. i. pp. 23, 24.) It does not follow from this that those who do marry do not love each other, but that those who love each other are kept from marrying by adverse circumstances.

Let us take an illustration as furnished by Mrs. Dall. We will here state that we are opposed to "strikes" on the part of laborers, and think they should be condemned as unnatural, except when capitalists combine to keep wages down. In such cases, strikes are necessary; and it must

be considered wrong for the laborers of one sex to endeavor to thwart the purposes of the other sex. Mrs. D. informs us, that, in a certain town, we do not remember where, the printers were on a strike for more pay. A certain man employed nine of them, and did not know what to do, until a woman came to him, and offered to bring eight female printers besides herself to do the work. The consequence was, that these nine men were thrown out of employment. We do not know the circumstances, and are not prepared to say whether the men were wrong and the women justified, or the men right and the women contemptibly mean. We would not condemn them for seeking work by fair means. But this is doubtless considered by the Innovators as a glorious victory of *woman over man*. Let us look a little further, and see how this is. Perhaps six of these were married men, who had wives and children depending upon their labor for support, who may have been placed in critical circumstances. Perhaps some of them suffered from want of food and clothing before their husbands found employment elsewhere. Perhaps one of the young men was about to be married. He may have saved something, and told his intended that there was a prospect of higher wages, so that he could then support

a wife. When he is thrown out of employment, he feels discouraged, disappointed, and heart-broken. He goes to some city, and finds work as a printer there. He writes to his intended, that it would cost so much to live, that he does not see any prospect of marriage for years. She is then obliged to seek employment, so that there is one more woman competing with others to keep down the price of labor. Perhaps this young man becomes discouraged on account of the postponement of his marriage, and is led into temptation as he seeks to drown his troubles in pleasure. He may be led to the use of strong drink, and from that to houses of ill fame, and so become a moral ruin. The young woman to whom he was engaged may become disheartened when she finds that she is forsaken ; and, in her bewilderment, she may be led, step by step, in the paths of sin, until she is finally *ruined, lost forever!* This is the kind of reform we are asked to support ! Of those women, probably eight had only themselves to support, and could have found employment as house-servants until they had a chance to work at their trade.

The Innovators have started on the wrong principle. The only permanent cure for existing evils is the encouragement of marriage. This can be done by hanging every man or wo-

man who tries to poison public opinion by teaching that there can be any more honorable employment for woman than that of wife and mother. Those who wish to remain single, and engage in any of the higher intellectual pursuits which are not consistent with marriage, do not need encouragement. They will take care of themselves. The effect of the doctrines which some have proclaimed has been to poison the minds of the lower classes, and lead those who are well adapted to engage in the healthy and respectable labor of house-work to go into employments which are really less honorable, as they lead to physical and moral ruin. However good the intentions of those blind enthusiasts who have been trying to ridicule and cast contempt upon the duties of a wife and mother, and have been teaching that there are other positions higher and more honorable, which women should seek, yet facts show that they are sowing the seeds of death; hence we claim that they should be *strangled* by public opinion. They ought to be allowed time for retirement, study, and calm reflection, before death. They have been so faithful in spreading their doctrines, that they have not had time to stop and reckon the gain and loss thus far. They think that they have caught a glimpse of Paradise ahead; but

this has so dazzled their sight, that they have not been able to see practical and common-sense affairs. They feel *certain* that other people are prejudiced and ignorant, "suborned and sycophantic," because they do not see the future as they do! They can see the mote in the eye of the public, but —

O ye Innovators! do not get angry with us poor deluded wretches, because we cannot behold the glory which you see so clearly. We have not such vivid imaginations as you have. Take us, step by step, and point out all the circumstances ; and then, if you can make it all clear, we will believe you : but we have had enough of glittering generalities. Perhaps you will show us how many positions women hold now, which they did not a few years ago. Very well ; but let us see how much you have gained by it. How great an increase have you made in virtue and morality ? You point proudly to Washington, and tell us what a conquest you have made over prejudice, as women can now be clerks in the departments. But have you counted the slain ? Do you know how much your victory has cost you ? Let us know the *whole* truth. Compare the physical, mental, and moral qualities of those who labor to-day, with those which existed among women in 1840,

before this movement began. Tell us to how great an extent you have *decreased* prostitution. Tell us how much better is the condition of laboring women to-day. Any evidence of the good already done will increase our faith in you for the future, *provided* the evil which you have indirectly brought about does not more than counterbalance the good. Let us know to what extent abortion and infanticide have decreased. Perhaps you think that we have done you injustice in this chapter; but we will retract any opinion we have expressed, when you give us the facts, and a better interpretation of them than we have given.

We will now show how marriage can be indirectly encouraged. It is not by giving female laborers a better chance directly, but by giving young men a better opportunity to earn money to support a wife. Some of the men and women of the present day have made themselves morally unfit for marriage; but provision can be made for the young, so that, when they reach maturity, there will be less temptation in their path. If we can increase the number of marriages, of course there will be a smaller number of women in the labor-market, hence a better chance for them to obtain fair wages, although they must expect them to be much

less than man's. And, what is still more important, there will be a smaller number of young men and women subject to the temptations of immorality. Perhaps prostitution will always exist to a certain extent, in spite of the efforts of good people to check it ; but this is the most practicable method of decreasing the evil. If parents and employers will use their influence to encourage marriage among the young as soon as they are old enough, and in a financial situation such that it would be advisable, much would be gained. If companies would be established in large cities, which would build tenements in the suburbs, or near those cities, which could be rented at moderate rates only to respectable young married people, there would be some encouragement to marriage. We believe that it would be a matter of economy to the merchants of cities, who are troubled with clerks of intemperate or irregular habits, if they would hold out some inducements to marriage by building tenements, and in other ways encouraging young men to marry. If young men and women have pleasant homes, they have less desire to go where they will meet with temptation. Life Insurance companies discovered long ago that marriage was the best guaranty of a steady life and good habits. We

know that there are many intemperate and grossly immoral married men ; but there are not so many, comparatively, as there are among the unmarried : besides, the most of these contracted such habits before marriage.

Encouraging women to engage in what are generally considered masculine employments has an immediate good effect in providing for them better means of self-support, but this indirectly produces evils which more than counterbalance the good effected. Perhaps the women themselves are placed in the way of temptation. This extra competition reduces the price of male labor, so that the number of men in circumstances to marry must be less ; hence, other women will be obliged to support themselves, as they have no chance to marry. The more we equalize the wages between the sexes, by so much the more we decrease the probability of marriage, unless husband and wife both go abroad and labor. Every one must admit that this is a great evil in ordinary cases, although under some circumstances wives prefer to leave home to engage in some employment. If the Innovators could bring about the changes for which they have argued so zealously, marriage would be impossible among the laboring classes, unless they lived in a half-

civilized condition. There would be as wide a distinction between plebeians and aristocrats as there is in any European country ; or there would be no family organization, but men and women mingled together like beasts. We do not believe it possible to bring about so great a change in society ; yet this movement may be carried to such an extent that the number of unmarried men and women will become more numerous, hence immorality, suffering, and crime must be greatly increased. If accurate statistics could be obtained, we have no doubt it would be proved that the number of prostitutes in cities depends more upon the number of unmarried men and women than upon all other causes combined. Intoxicating drink is in one sense the most potent agent of evil in the world, but it must be remembered that the unmarried are more tempted to use it than others. Perhaps some may think that we give undue importance to this point ; but, when we consider that it has been estimated that there are twenty thousand prostitutes in the city of New York, the question how to reduce this evil becomes one of great importance. This may be an over estimate ; but the increase of licentiousness throughout the country is becoming a serious matter. To be sure, the Innovators have de-

claimed against it as loudly as others ; but, in their blind zeal, they have set in motion influences which have increased the evil. The machinery of society is complicated ; and it requires careful study and foresight, as well as good intentions, to prepare measures which will really benefit the people.

This labor question shows how intimately connected are the interests of the two sexes. One cannot be injured without harm to the other. In regard to widening the sphere of women, so that both sexes should have an equal chance to earn money, the Innovators supposed that they were contending with *men* ; when, in reality, they were contending with *the family*. What woman gains with one hand she throws away with the other ; so that this labor scheme, inaugurated nominally for the good of women, like the scheme for suffrage, is *really* an indirect method of *forcing* them from their homes, and obliging them to earn their own living. "Ah, liberty ! what crimes are committed in thy name ! "

The whole woman's-rights movement has been conducted in a reckless manner. The Innovators took a few facts, exaggerated them, and then overlooked or discarded other facts of

more importance than those which they hurled in the face of public opinion. They have demanded suffrage as a right belonging to woman ; when, in reality, the majority of women do not desire it, and believe the measure opposed to their physical, mental, and moral welfare, and would consider it an act of tyranny to be either directly or indirectly forced to go to the ballot-box. They have been so monstrously inconsistent as to pretend to be the representatives of women, when they accuse the majority of them of stupidity, sycophancy, and lying. Mill is not the only one that has done this. A large proportion of the speeches made in this country have in some way cast a slur upon the mass of women. Some have openly denounced them for not supporting the innovation ; others by implication, when they praise the good sense, bravery, and nobility of character of those women who do demand suffrage. The Innovators have rarely been so candid as to admit that those women who were not in favor of their movement were governed by any thing better than blind prejudice. If the mass of women were really what they have often represented them to be, they would not be fit for civilized life. They have discussed the labor question as

though those women who support themselves were the only parties concerned, and then only in a mercenary way ; when, in fact, the financial interests of every family in the land are involved in this question, and the moral and religious welfare of the whole community. They have recklessly urged the employment of men and women together, without regard to the extra danger to virtue and morality : when a little reflection ought to convince any one that an increase of temptation is equivalent to an increase of sin. We do not deny that they have told us much truth, but it has not been *the whole truth*. They have presented almost every subject in a partial, one-sided manner.

If we have been correct in considering that the starting point for a reform is to improve the condition of the male laborer, the public ought to consider candidly the claims of labor. If we have made no mistake, the moral as well as the physical good of the public is at stake. Laboring men must be in a condition to support a family, if we wish to encourage good habits and check wickedness. There is no spot on earth like *home*. The hallowed influence of the family has saved millions, while the want of this influence has ruined thousands. Who has

the least doubt that the Creator intends marriage for *all* where it is possible? And is it not the duty of society to encourage it, and help to place all in such circumstances that it will be not only possible but convenient?



## CHAPTER VIII.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

T has been frequently stated that women have always been in a state of subjection to men, and that, on this account, experience can give no testimony on this subject. It has been also urged that any reasoning on the question must be *a priori*. This is true only in part, as nearly all the *principles* involved have been tested by experience. Those which are involved in the labor question have been tried, although some additional truth may yet be learned by special application of statistics to this matter as it now stands and will stand for a few years to come.

Mill saw plainly that the presumption in favor of the present relation of the sexes must remain, unless he could show that it was brought about by forced and unnatural means. The only argument of importance which he produced to weaken this presumption was the fact that brute force had played an important part in the early

ages of history. He asserts that women have always been in subjection to men : hence their *natural* powers have never had a chance to develop. Now, there is a total lack of proof that they are, at the present time, out of their natural position, and are in *subjection* to men. We quote the following, to show, that, during the middle ages, men were subject to the power of women :—

“ Gassier, in his ‘ Histoire de la Chevalerie Française,’ speaking of the romancers, or troubadours, has the following :—

“ ‘ Many knights are numbered among these poets. To consecrate his heart and his homage to a mistress, to live for her exclusively, for her to aspire to all the glory of arms and of the virtues, to admire her perfections, and assure to them public admiration, to aspire to the title of her servant and her slave, and to think himself blessed, if, in recompense of so great a love and of so great efforts, she deign to accept them ; in a word, to serve his lady as a kind of divinity, whose favors can but be the prize of the noblest sentiments, a divinity who cannot be loved without respect, and who cannot be respected without love,— this was one of the principal duties of every knight, or of whosoever desired to become one. The imagination sought to exalt itself with such a scheme of love ; and by forming heroes, it (the scheme of love, we presume) gave reality to all the flights of the poet’s imagination of that time. The fair whose charms and whose merit the knights troubadours celebrated — those earthly goddesses of chivalry — welcomed them with a winning generosity, and often repaid their compliments with tender favors. . . . It is easy

to understand, that, love and war being the spring of all their actions, some celebrated the deeds of arms which had rendered so many brave knights illustrious, while others sang of the beauty, the graces, and the charms of their ladies, and of the tender sentiments with which the ladies had inspired them.'

" St. Palaye, speaking of the duties of knights, remarks, ' It was one of the capital points of their institution on no account to speak ill of ladies, and on no account to allow any one in their presence to dare to speak ill of ladies.' In a note he says, ' This is, of all the laws of chivalry, that which was maintained at all times with the greatest rigor among the French nobility.' ' If a virtuous dame,' says Brantome, as quoted by St. Palaye, ' desire to maintain her position by means of his valor and constancy, her servant by no means grudges his life to support and defend her, if she runs the least hazard in the world, either as regards her life or her honor, or in case any evil may have been said of her ; as I have seen in our court many who have silenced slanderers who have dared to detract from their mistresses and ladies, whom, by the duty and laws of chivalry, we are bound to serve as champions in their troubles.'

" By the custom of Burgundy, a young maid could save the life of a criminal if she met him

by accident, for the first time, going to execution, and asked him in marriage.' 'Is it not true,' asks Marchangy, 'that the criminal who can interest a simple and virtuous maid, so as to be chosen for a husband, is not so guilty as he may appear, and that extenuating circumstances speak secretly in his favor?' Again: 'The greatest enemies to the feudal system have acknowledged that the preponderance of domestic manners was its essential characteristic. In the early education of youth, women were represented as the objects of respectful love, and the dispensers of happiness.'

"It is not necessary to adduce further proof of the eminence to which, morally, woman was exalted. Her empire was notorious and unchallenged. All writers of those times celebrate it, and in recent times it has been attested by the charming pen of Scott, and by the sneer of Gibbon. The theory of the worship is beyond dispute; but it may be interesting to examine how the practice of chivalry accorded with its profession, and whether the power and position of the sex were substantially as dazzling as speculation represented them. Upon reflection we shall probably all admit that they were so; for, though the phase of lady-worship most familiar to us is seen in the practice of the

knights-errant, to whose vagaries a certain amount of ridicule attaches, there is ample evidence of a real, practical, established female ascendancy. The wandering or the soldier knight would vaunt the charms and virtues of a mistress whose favor he might or might not wear, and enforce the acknowledgment of them with the point of his lance ; he would draw his sword for the deliverance of a captive lady, or to redress a lady's wrong : but, independently of the effects of real or fancied passion, independently of acts of individual compassion or generosity or condescension, the sex, as such, undoubtedly did experience and exercise the benefits and the powers which the knight's profession assigned to it. In proof of this, be it remembered that a lady never hesitated to lay her commands upon a knight, whether specially devoted to her service or not ; and that it was imperative upon the knight to obey her, except the command should unfortunately be incompatible with his devoir to his own elected lady, to his sovereign, or to a brother-in-arms. Conflicting orders and duties thus sometimes placed an unhappy knight in a 'fix ;' and so delicate an affair was it, that, when he had the opportunity of obtaining advice, he generally submitted himself to the

decision of a court of honor. The expressed approbation of a noble or beautiful lady, whether dame or demoiselle, was fame. The ladies could and did soften and exalt the characters of knights, and the sentiments of knighthood generally. ‘They can even impart,’ says Digby, ‘noble and generous sentiments; so that their power exceeds that of kings, who can grant only the titles of nobility.’ ”

We take the above from an article in “Blackwood,” and reprinted in “The Eclectic,” March, 1868. We will also give an extract from Hallam: “Next, therefore, or even equal to devotion, stood gallantry among the principles of knighthood. But all comparison between the two was saved by blending them together. The love of God and the ladies was enjoined as a single duty. He who was faithful and true to his mistress was held sure of salvation in the theology of castles, though not of cloisters. Froissart announces that he had undertaken a collection of amorous poetry, with the help of God and of love; and Bocacce returns thanks to each for their assistance in the ‘Decameron.’ The laws sometimes united in this general homage to the fair. ‘We will,’ says James II. of Aragon, ‘that every man, whether knight or no, who shall be in company with a lady, pass

safe and unmolested, unless he be guilty of murder.' Louis II., Duke of Bourbon, instituting the order of the Golden Shield, enjoins his knights to honor, above all, the ladies, and not to permit any one to slander them ; because from them, after God, comes all the honor that men can acquire." ("Middle Ages," chap. ix., Part II.)

These passages are sufficient to disprove the assertion that women have always been under the power of men. If they had preferred man's position to their own, they could have taken it ; for they could have had what they asked. It is true that a few women tried the sphere of man, but there was no general manifestation of such a desire. It is a most important fact, that this same chivalrous spirit, minus the extravagances, has been preserved to the present time. Since then, woman's social position has generally been higher than man's, as it is at the present time. Says Mill, "The beauties and graces of the chivalrous character are still what they were." In the middle ages, women were placed in a loftier position than mortals could occupy permanently ; yet enough of this feeling on the part of men has been preserved to satisfy any reasonable woman. An excess of devotion is now disgusting to a woman of

good sense. No one can truly say that force, for the past three hundred years, has had influence enough to make any difference with woman's position among the most enlightened nations. If women are placed and held in their present position by force, it is strange that the great majority of them cannot be made to believe it.

We have the testimony of experience against female suffrage. Dr. Bushnell has given us a good description of the evil effects of female suffrage in New Jersey. We have no evidence that there was any desirable result. During the thirty-one years that women were allowed to vote in that State, their attendance at the ballot-box was so irregular, that they nearly all voted some years, and nearly all remained at home others. Some of them did not scruple to vote as many times in one day as some men do in New York. Perhaps it will be claimed that we cannot tell much by this one trial; but, if female suffrage had been a *success* in New Jersey, who doubts that the Innovators would lay *great* stress upon this fact in every public speech? At present, they are obliged to comfort themselves with incidents of much less importance. As far as we have facts, there are no indications that women would purify poli-

tics; while we have proofs of an opposite nature, which make the theory which was offered in a former part of this book seem more probable than any other. History informs us that a woman's sympathies are stronger than her judgment or reasoning powers; hence that part of her nature which is her glory in her present position would expose her to great danger in public life.

As the presumption is in favor of the present system, it is necessary for the Innovators to make it appear *very probable* that much more good than evil would be brought about by the proposed change. It is mere buncombe to make pathetic speeches on this subject, as though it were a matter of natural right and justice to woman. It is assuming the point which is to be proved, and which the mass of men and women do not believe. When the majority of women authorize the Innovators to speak in their behalf, they can make pathetic appeals to men, with more consistency. There is something ludicrous in the pretensions of a small band of men and women who come before the public and assume that they are speaking *for* women, when they are really speaking *against* them. They need a different method of agitation if they wish to enlist

women in their cause. It is a strong presumption against the soundness of this movement, that it is obliged to resort to such catch-words as "Idiots and Women," "Eggs, Blown-glass, and Women." Reformers usually rely on something more substantial. What would they say to their opponents, if they should try to show that man's condition is worse than woman's by pointing to the farmers at work in their fields, and crying out sneeringly, "Horses, Mules, and Men"? Not long since, we heard a woman deliver a lecture, who did not produce a single substantial argument to sustain her cause, but assailed her opponents with scorn and ridicule. Before her speech was closed, she gave them a moral lecture on the use of sarcasm, and warned them that they could not hinder this great movement by ridicule! The Innovators complain when any one attacks *them* with satire, but *this* is the chief weapon which they use to achieve success! They are righteously indignant with their opponents, simply because they themselves desire the monopoly of scorn and ridicule! Yet they are not to be blamed so much for this, because, if they cannot be allowed to exaggerate and ridicule, their boasted reform becomes a very tame affair.

When we obtained a copy of "The Sub-

jection of Women," we expected to find Mill free from those extravagant statements which others had made; but we were disappointed. Exaggeration is a mild term to apply to some things which he says. In one part of the book he argues that *no one* has a right to any thing more than conjectures on this question; yet, in other places, he himself makes *positive* statements, and then reasons from them. He seems to have a natural inclination to be candid, as he admits some facts which do not assist him; yet, when he is in a place where he *needs* proof, he does not hesitate to assume propositions which are directly contradictory to what he has already written. On pp. 136-139, he argues that the duties of women are already so numerous that they can have no time to compete with men in preparing works on philosophy, science, &c.; yet he does not *conjecture*, but states positively, on p. 153, that the proposed widening of woman's sphere would have the effect of "doubling the mass of mental faculties available for the higher service of humanity." We have already noticed a similar case. He writes much that is good and true, but most of the statements of this kind give little or no support to his theory. He assumes many things that he ought to prove, and often seems deter-

mined to carry his point at all hazards. If he should write a book on "The Subjection of Men," and use the same ingenuity, and assume as many things, he would certainly give us a very plausible production. Of course he would *assume* that men are in a state of subjection to women. Let us see how it would read.

"It does not avail any thing that men declare that they prefer their present position. A great part of what men say is mere sycophancy to women. They desire to be highly esteemed by the other sex. Men have thus far given but little testimony, and that little mostly suborned. What unmarried men say about women is not their real opinion; but they talk merely for the sake of increasing their chances of marriage. When a merchant labors hard to earn his thousands, in order that his wife may wear costly jewels and have a splendid wardrobe, it must not be supposed that he would submit to this slavish life if he were allowed a fair chance to express his real views. It must be remembered that women have better means of keeping their subjects in submission than any slaveholder ever had: hence this would outlast all other forms of slavery. Of course, this counterbalances any presumption in favor of the present system. Women have such winning ways and

power of charming, that they can make men believe that they are working for themselves, when, in reality, they are merely the servants of women. They flatter men by allowing them to keep the *semblance* of power, when the *essence* is in their own hands. Men merely act *for* women, as the horse does for its owner. Women have been known to cause men to frame laws which are more advantageous to themselves than to men. Of course, they prefer to avoid the tedium of legislation, so long as men are their obedient servants. Everywhere we find men the most humble slaves. They give up their seats to women, and sometimes risk their lives for their good. Women have always pretended that men were not naturally adapted to fill the places which they (women) occupy ; but there is no telling what one person or many can do, but by trying. No one knows, or can know, how great an influence circumstances have in modifying character. The only method of deciding this question is to place man in woman's position for two hundred years, and then *experience* will teach us the natural position of both sexes. Literary men are becoming more free and outspoken, and a few have had the courage to demand freedom. No one knows how many more cherish *silently* similar

aspirations ; nor can the real opinions of a majority of men be known, so long as women, who are their instructors, strenuously teach them that any lack of reverence or homage to woman is contrary to the proprieties of their sex. Men will get their eyes open, doubtless, some time ; but we must not become discouraged, as it must be remembered that no enslaved class ever asked for complete liberty at once. Men have thus far been made to believe it their duty to support the women ; but some have dared already to defy public opinion : and, as the spirit of the age seems to indicate that no one is under any obligation to those around him, we feel sure that this reform must ultimately prevail. If marriage continues, it must be conducted on terms of perfect equality. Husband and wife can perform the housework, and then go forth and labor together. Of course, the children will have a right to take care of themselves."

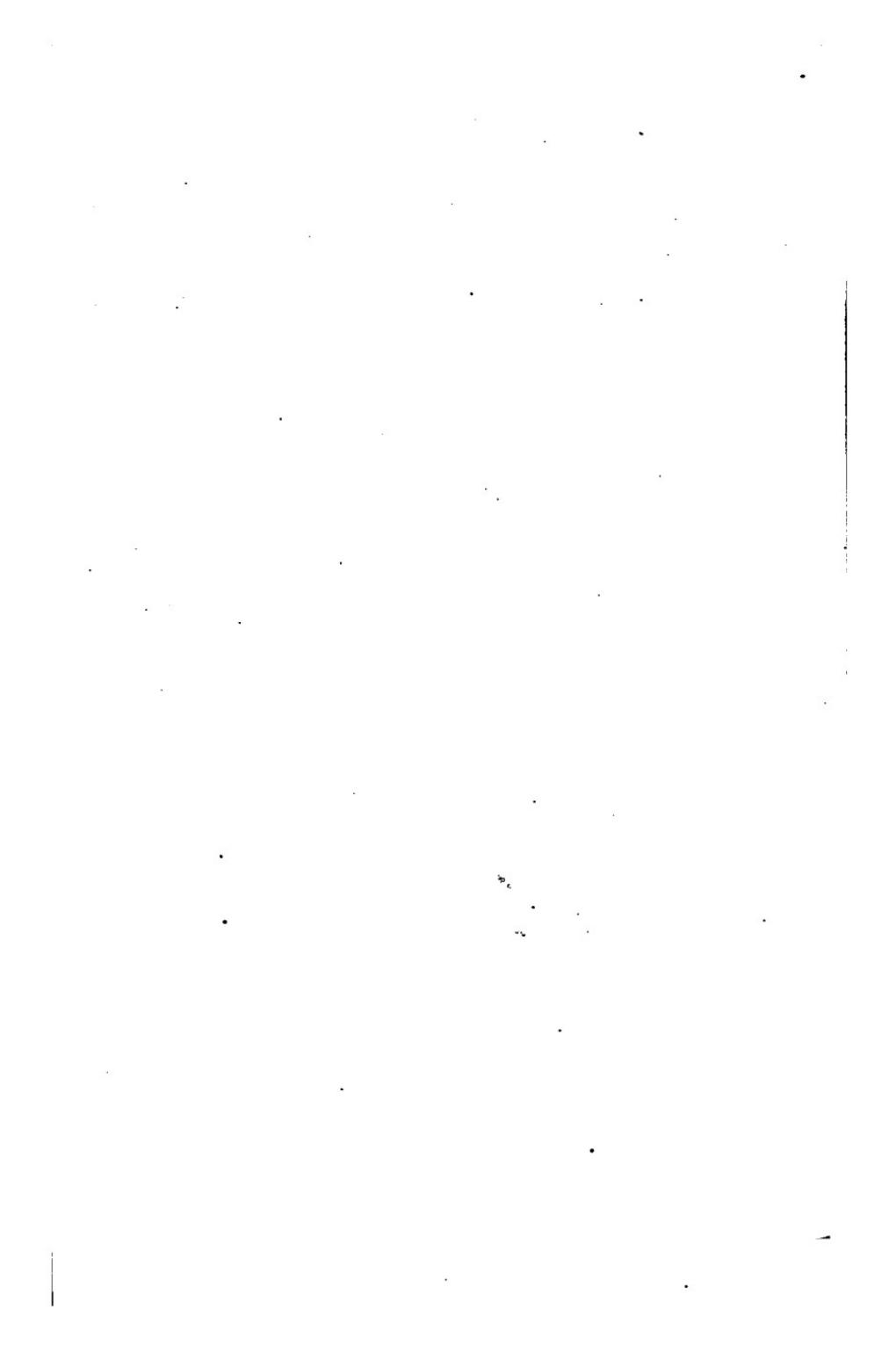
We do not profess to have as much ingenuity as John Stuart Mill ; hence the reader can readily detect fallacies in the foregoing, particularly as it appears in a condensed form. If Mill would take these ideas and expand them into a book, and be careful to conceal fallacies, he would doubtless make the emancipation of man appear as just and reasonable as that of woman. .

The fault of the Innovators is not so much that they have made statements that were not wholly or partially true, as that they have practised the wickedest kind of falsehood ; viz., stating only a half or a fourth of the whole truth, and discarding the rest. We can take a partial view of society, and make it appear that man is a slave to woman, and not make a statement which is absolutely false. In reality, man is, in some respects, the servant of woman, while, in others, woman is the servant of man. In one sphere, man is king, and woman subordinate ; in another, woman is queen, and man subordinate.

Perhaps some may think that a few of our remarks have been too strong. We can only say that it has been our intention to be *severe as truth* ; and, if we have not been able to stop here, we shall probably be obliged to take the consequences of our folly. The Innovators have such a variety of character, that it is a difficult matter to do them all justice. Their speeches and writings can be found at almost any point between candor and madness, so that some may think that we have laid too much stress on certain matters, and not enough on others. There is chance for a wide difference of opinion in regard to this.

We have faith enough to believe that this agitation will do good ; but we think that it will be in the same way that infidelity benefits Christianity. Believers are obliged to examine more thoroughly the grounds of their faith, and by this means they are led to a better appreciation of the truth. The blessings of the family relation will probably be more fully recognized after the existence of this institution has been threatened and endangered. The people will then understand more clearly the fundamental principles on which society and government are and should be based : hence they will know better how to remove some evils and prevent others. We trust that the family will be restored to its unity and integrity in all respects, and preserved to bless and sanctify coming generations.





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